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PRIVATE ANECDOTES

OF

FOREIGN COURTS.

COURT OF NAPOLEON.

CHAPTER I.

Ceremonies of the Interior of the Palace.—Rising and Breakfast of the Emperor.—Expenditure of the Imperial Household.—Anecdotes relating to the Concordat, the Consulship, and the Coronation.—Napoleon, on becoming Consul, promotes the election of Pius VII.—Conversation of Madame de Brignolé with Cardinal Gonsalvi.—Madame de Caraman.—Napoleon and M. de Châteaubriand.

I WAS appointed Prefect of the Palace on the 1st of February, 1805, two months after the coronation, which marked the return to the principles of monarchical government. The duties which were assigned to me, con-

sisted of a personal attendance, and a superintendance over part of the household, under the direction of the Grand Marshal.

Every morning at nine o'clock, the Emperor quitted his private apartment, dressed for the day.

The public functionaries were the first admitted, and Napoleon delivered his orders for the day.

Immediately afterwards, those who possessed the *grandes entrées* were admitted. They were composed of persons of the highest rank, and who had the right from their office, or by some special favour.

The officers of the imperial household, who were not on duty, had equally the advantage of being admitted.

Many people who appear now to have forgotten it, then attached a very high value to the enjoyment of so flattering a distinction. Napoleon addressed himself to every one successively, and heard with kindness all that each wished to say. His round finished, he bowed, and all withdrew. It often happened, however, that some were desirous of a private audience; these waited until the rest had retired, and then again approaching the Em-

peror, were left alone with him, and obtained their wish.

I ought to observe, that what I here relate respecting the customs of the palace, applies only to the department to which I was attached, and that it has never once entered my mind to give a complete and general view of the ceremonies connected with the other offices.

Napoleon's breakfast was served at half past nine o'clock. The Prefect of the palace announced it, and preceded him into the breakfast chamber, where he attended with the principal steward, who waited upon the Emperor. Napoleon breakfasted from off a little mahogany table, covered with a napkin. The Prefect of the palace stood up, his hat under his arm, at the end of this little table. As temperate as it was possible for a man to be, the breakfast of Napoleon often did not occupy more than eight minutes; but when he experienced the necessity of *closing his cabinet,* as he said sometimes smiling, it lasted a considerable length of time. Then nothing could equal the charming gaiety of his conversation. His expressions were rapid, decided and picturesque. In these periods of my service I have known the most agreeable hours of my life.

While at breakfast I very often proposed to him to receive some of those persons to whom he had granted that favour. It was generally to literary men of the first rank, such as MM. Monge*, Bertholet†, Costaz‡, surveyor of the crown buildings, and Denon, director of the Museum, whom he had had with him during his campaign in Egypt, and Corvisart. Among those celebrated for their great talents were MM. David, Gérard, Isabey§, Talma. Fon-

* The Emperor regarded M. Monge as one of the greatest geometricians of the age, as the Frenchman by whom he was most beloved.

† The greatest chemist of the time, and in whose laboratory Napoleon studied the principles of that science previous to his departure for Egypt.

‡ M. Costaz, member of the Institute of Egypt, in character of geometrician, has been successively Member of the Tribunal, Prefect, Surveyor of Buildings, Counsellor of State, Surveyor General of Bridges and Highways, &c. The Emperor has many times said that he was one of the men whose conversation he most liked, "because it was the most varied."

§ The name of M. Isabey, miniature-painter, so justly celebrated for his superior talents and personal qualities, reminds me of an anecdote but little known. Eight days before that of the Coronation, the Emperor commanded him to furnish seven designs, representing the seven ceremonies which were to be performed in the metropolitan church, but the repetition of which could not be effected at *Notre-Dame*, in the presence of the multitude of workmen who were employed

taine, his principal architect,* &c. Some among them are still living, and I am well assured

about the embellishments and decorations. To make seven designs, each comprehending more than a hundred persons in action, in so short a time was really to demand an impossibility. The Emperor, however, never admitted of any such excuse. The word impossible, had for a long while been erased from his dictionary. The happy and fertile imagination of M. Isabey inspired him at the moment with a singular idea. He replied with confidence, and to the great astonishment of the Emperor, that in twice four-and-twenty-hours his orders should be executed. Before he returned home, he went to the toy-shops, and purchased all the little wooden men, made for the amusement of children, that he could find. He dressed them in paper of the colour and costume of each person who was to take a part in the ceremonies of the Coronation; made a plan of *Notre-Dame* upon a scale proportioned to these little puppets, and on the third day presented himself before Napoleon, who immediately asked him for the seven designs. "Sire, I bring you something better than designs," replied Isabey. He developed his plan, and set forth the persons who were to act in the first ceremony, and whose names he had written at the base of each figure. This represented the reception under the canopy at the church door. The Emperor was so well satisfied, that he instantly summoned all those who were to conduce to the eclat of that great event. The rehearsals took place in the Emperor's chamber and on a large table. One ceremony alone, more complicated than the others, required an actual rehearsal. This was effected

* See note in page 6.

they will concur with me in saying that nothing equalled the grace and amiability of

in the gallery of Diana at the Tuileries, by means of a plan traced with chalk upon the floor. Isabey had displayed all the taste possible in the dressing of his puppets, and, by his talent, prevented his plan from appearing at all ridiculous. The clergy, the ladies, the princesses, the Emperor, the Pope himself, the whole were dressed in the most exact and appropriate costume. I have been informed, that at the period of the abdication (1814), M. Isabey, faithful to gratitude and to misfortune, repaired to Fontainebleau to restore to the Emperor the portraits of the Empress Marie-Louise and of his son in the same picture, convinced that that act of respect would afford him pleasure. Napoleon testified his full satisfaction, and after eulogising the feelings and talents of M. Isabey, said: "Undoubtedly Corvisart, Gérard, Fontaine, and yourself will be called for by the King; serve him as you have always served me."

* M. Fontaine, the most learned architect of France, the most able and the most honest. At the commencement of his consular power, Napoleon gave directions to M. Fontaine to bring him a plan relative to some important buildings. That prince considered the prices too high, and in the heat of discussion used some expressions which wounded the extreme delicacy of M. Fontaine so deeply that he thought it right to send in his resignation. The First Consul, perplexed to find a successor, desired the Minister of the Interior to furnish him with a list of a dozen architects capable of executing his views. At the head of that list figured the name of M. Fontaine. "Reduce your list to six persons," said the Consul to the minister.—M. Fontaine, &c.—"Re-

Napoleon. Gifted with a copious mind, superior intelligence, and extraordinary tact, it was in these moments of relaxation that he most astonished and delighted.

Returned to his closet, he was occupied with receiving the ministers or the directors-general, who arrived with their portfolios. These different labours lasted until six o'clock in the afternoon, and were never interrupted except on the days appointed for holding a council of the ministers, or a council of state. The dinner was regularly served at six o'clock. Their Majesties dined alone, except on Sunday, when all the Imperial family were admitted to the banquet. The Emperor, Empress, and the Emperor's mother, were seated upon great chairs, and the other kings, queens, princes, and princesses, had only ordinary ones. There was but a single course, which was succeeded by the dessert. Napoleon preferred the most simple dishes; he drank no wine but Chambertin, and rarely that undiluted. The attend-

duce it again to the number of three."—M. Fontaine, &c.—"Confine yourself to a single name."—M. Fontaine, always M. Fontaine. Napoleon sent for him, and said to him, pinching his ear, "Well! since you are the most able and the most honest, I must let you do as you please;" and he did well.

ance was performed by the pages, assisted by the valets-de-chambre, the stewards, and the carvers, but never by the footmen in livery. The dinner commonly occupied from fifteen to twenty minutes. He never drank any liqueur; he took habitually two cups of pure coffee, one in the morning after his breakfast, and the other after his dinner. All that has been said respecting his committing excess is false and ridiculous. During dinner, the prefect of the palace had only to superintend the whole, and to answer such questions as were put to him.

On their return to the parlour, a page presented to the Emperor a gilt salver, upon which were a cup and a sugar-basin. The chief attendant poured out the coffee, the Empress took the cup from the Emperor, the page and the chief attendant retired. I waited till the Empress had poured the coffee into the saucer and presented it to Napoleon. It had so often happened that he forgot to drink it at the proper time, that the Empress Josephine, and after her the Empress Marie Louise, adopted this agreeable way of remedying that trifling inconvenience.

I then withdrew; and a short time afterwards the Emperor again retired to his closet

and to labour; for "rarely," he said, "do I put off till to-morrow, that which may be done to-day." The Empress descended into her apartments by a private staircase, which served for a communication to the two floors, and to the two apartments. On entering she was received by her ladies of honour, others who were privileged, and the officers of her household. Card-tables were set out for form's sake, and to dispel formality and dulness. Sometimes Napoleon entered through the interior apartments of the Empress, and conversed with as much simplicity as freedom, perhaps with the ladies of the palace, or perhaps with one of us; but in general he remained only a short time. The officers on duty ascended to assist at the evening audience, and to receive his orders for the morrow. Such was the habitual life that the Emperor lived at the Tuileries; and its uniformity was never deranged, except when there was a concert, a play, or a hunt.

I am aware that these details of the private life of Napoleon do not accord with those which have been published by biographers who never approached that extraordinary man. These which I here present are given with the greatest exactitude.

When he was residing at Saint Cloud the

manner of living was the same; there was no other alteration than the time employed, in the fine season, in driving out in an open carriage. The council of the ministers was held every Wednesday, and they were uniformly invited to dine with their Majesties.

At Fontainebleau, Rambouillet, or Compiegne, when Napoleon went hunting, a tent for breakfasting in was always erected in the forest, and the whole hunt was invited to the repast. The ladies followed the chase in open carriages. Generally speaking, eight or ten of the hunters were invited to dinner.

As occasions may present themselves I shall speak of the style of living when with the army and when travelling. With respect to the expenses of the household, every thing was regulated with infinite order. The Grand-marshal the Duke de Frioul had arranged his duties with admirable judgment, foresight, and discretion. I have now before me the Grand-marshal's budget for 1805, which I will copy.

" *Ordinary Expenses of the Office of the Grand-marshal.*

	Francs.
Grand-marshal, three prefects of the palace, two *maréchaux de logis,* and three assistants - -	116,000
A secretary-general, first quarter-master, and first controller of the household - - -	16,000
Carried over - -	132,000

Brought over - -	132,000
Salaries of the gentlemen employed about his Majesty - - - -	134,048
Allowances to persons detached on journeys -	30,000
Clothing for the footmen - - -	107,000
Washing - - - -	45,000
Lighting - - - -	180,000
Fuel - - - - -	160,000
Provisions { The Kitchen - - -	360,000
Provisions { Buttery - - -	150,000
Provisions { Cellar - - -	120,000
Charge of the plate - - -	20,000
Charge of the linen, with annual augmentation -	80,000
Charge of the porcelain - - -	20,000
Costs of conveyance - - -	15,000
For the imperial palace of the Tuileries, of the Louvre, Saint-Cloud, Saint-Germain, Meudon, Versailles, Trianon, Rambouillet, Fontainebleau, Laken, and Strasbourg, comprising pensions to old domestics, allowances for the support of officers and soldiers of the guard, the head-quarters, imperial, and barracks, the whole of the secret expenditure, the costs of the bureau, the household of the Empress, and the clothing of the footmen in her service -	685,319
Expenses of the crown in the departments beyond the Alps, called those of Piedmont, the palace of Turin and of Stupinits - -	89,800
Total francs - -	2,328,167

In 1806 the budget of the Grand-marshal was increased to 2,770,841 francs. This arose from various new duties being imposed on that

office. Funds were assigned for the annual augmentation of the plate (1000 silver plates), for the necessary articles to complete the little gilt service of their Majesties, for the purchase of kitchen furniture, of glass, and crockery-ware, for the Palace of Strasbourg, and for the Chateau of Rambouillet, &c.

The manner in which the budgets for the imperial household were settled and signed was as follows:—

"At the conclusion of a general recapitulation of all the offices, his Majesty has decreed as follows:

"The Treasurer-general of the crown, will hold at the disposal of the chief functionaries of our household, the sums for which each of them is set down in those that form the general total of the present budget.

"(The office of Grand-marshal is comprised for the sums declared underneath it.)

"The expenditure of all the offices shall be ordered, approved, warranted and paid agreeably with the spirit of the decrees and decisions which we have given, as much upon the responsibility of our imperial household, as upon the destination to which the funds are appropriated; and the chief functionaries cannot, under any pretext, command or order works,

purchases, or provisions, but as far as in concurrence with the funds appropriated to each article of expense.

"From our imperial palace ... &c. &c.

"NAPOLEON."

Extraordinary expenses not foreseen by the budget, as those occasioned by the coronation, by the stay of the Kings of Saxony, Bavaria, and Wirtemberg at Paris, by the marriage, the baptism, &c., were provided for by special decrees. I am able to say of my own knowledge, that the budgets of the other great offices, the great-chamberlain, grand master of the horse, grand huntsman, grand master of the ceremonies, those of the surveyor-general and of the surveyor of buildings, were arranged and executed with the same regularity and fidelity. By means of this general budget of his household, Napoleon knew from the first day of the year what would be his expenditure, and no person ever dared to exceed the credit opened to his account.

It must not be imagined that the court was niggardly or parsimonious. The habits of Napoleon were simple and moderate, but he loved splendour and magnificence about him. His court was always brilliant and in good taste. It was orderly and without profusion.

Correctly speaking there were but four tables.

The table of the Emperor.

The table of the officers on duty about their Majesties.

The table of the officers of the guard and of the pages.

The table of the ladies of honour to the Empress.

That of the grand-marshal was served in his own apartments, where the grand diplomatic dinners took place, and at which he did the honours with remarkable dignity and politeness.

The remains from the Emperor's table furnished that of the chamber women of the Empress, the stewards, and the valets of the Emperor, &c. The remains from the other tables served for the other persons employed and mantained within the palace. The footmen were not of this number. They were clothed and received a crown a day for wages and provisions. The ordinary livery belonged to them after a year of service, and the grand one after two years.

I ask pardon for these minute details, but many persons will like to know them, and they give moreover a correct idea of the private life of Napoleon.

The only observation I feel it necessary to add is, that being often entirely taken up with affairs of state, he passed many breakfasts and dinners without uttering a single word. But I ought to say that these moments were rare, and that even when he was serious and silent, he always appeared in my estimation just, polite, and kind. I dare affirm, that there are but few men who in their private life have shown a greater equality of character, or greater softness of manners. I speak of what I witnessed. The nature of my office never exposed me to political discussions; and I am convinced that with respect to his private life, Napoleon will never lose any portion of his reputation. I ought to add in conclusion, that if I have seen his features animated, and heard him express himself with anger on many occasions, it appeared to me there was almost always reason for his doing so. His indignation originated in noble and elevated sentiments; and even at the period of his power he met with much ingratitude.

Whenever I may find occasion I shall introduce some anecdotes relative to the Concordat, the Consulate, and the Coronation. I write as my memory dictates, and without respect to dates.

Pius VI., died at Valencia, on the 29th of August, 1799, during the government of the Directory, which flattered itself that after the death of that venerable pontiff, it should be able to prevent a successor from being nominated, and with that view it had augmented the French armies in Italy. In case it did not succeed in hindering the election of a new Pope, measures had been taken to procure the nomination of two or three as the most easy way of overthrowing the papacy. But the Revolution of the 18th Brumaire, happened on the 9th of November in the same year, and dissipated the ridiculous reveries of *theophilanthropy*. I have heard Napoleon express himself clearly upon this subject, and he declared that when he obtained the Consulate, his first care was to forward the election of Pius VII. and to disconcert the intrigues commenced by the Directory. Pius VII. was elected on the 9th of March following.

Cardinal Gonsalvi, the prime minister of the Pope, came to Paris respecting the Concordat. It was difficult to suppose that so extraordinary a voyage would not lead to some important result, for certainly they ought to have known at Rome what the French Government desired, and it was only reasonable to think

that the Pope would not have decided on sending his prime minister, without investing him with the most extensive powers, and the authority to grant all that it was possible could be granted. This extraordinary mission was determined upon through the sending of a courier, whom the Government dispatched to M. de Cacault, the French ambassador, directing him to demand his passports, and to quit Rome, because the difficulties and slowness of the Pope, seemed to prove that he was not willing to conclude an arrangement in conformity with the views of France. M. de Cacault having made the prime minister of the Pope acquainted with this determination, Rome was panic-struck, and the holy father decided promptly to enter into an arrangement. M. de Cacault advised the Pope to send Cardinal Gonsalvi into France, as, independently of the consideration that so distinguished an embassy would be flattering to the First Consul, it would be the means of abridging the delays, and of gaining, perhaps, fresh facilities for as favourable a settlement as circumstances could admit of. In addition to Cardinal Gonsalvi, that extraordinary embassy included a number of his counsellors, Cardinal Caprara.

the Archbishop of Genoa, Spina, and many able theologians.

The Concordat was signed and religion preserved in France. It is not, therefore, astonishing some years after to find that the Pope, satisfied with the state of things which this Concordat had brought about, came to Paris, and consecrated and crowned the Emperor.

One day Cardinal Gonsalvi had just quitted the house of M. de Brignolé when M. de S*** entered. "Can you imagine," said Madame de Brignolé to him, "what was the subject of my conversation with the Cardinal? We were speaking of the marriage of priests." To be brief, the Cardinal, overjoyed with the signing of the Concordat, had said, "that if the French Government had made the demand, most certainly the court of Rome would have consented to it, because it was nothing but a point of discipline, &c." M. de S*** hastened to find the First Consul, and to communicate to him what he had learned. The Consul replied, that he did not at all doubt the proposition would have been acceded to had it been made, but that it had been purposely abstained from, in order not to give "the suburbs of St. Germain an opportunity of calling the holy fa-

ther by the name of heretic." He added, that it was his desire to have a pope whose importance was not weakened, a pope truly catholic, apostolic, and Roman. This was not the only occasion on which the Emperor gave evidence of his regard for the wishes of the old school of aristocrats; for it is in this light that we must understand the expression, "suburbs of St. Germain."

I have heard the following anecdote related.

M. Victor de Caraman (now Ambassador from the King to the Emperor of Austria) was arrested and thrown into prison during the Consulate. His wife, encouraged by the Empress Joséphine, with whose extreme goodness all France is familiar, had the courage to pass the guards, and ascending the step of the carriage of Napoleon, addressed him in the most touching manner in behalf of her husband. She was heard with calmness, and without anger, but she did not obtain a favourable decision. In her confusion, Madame de Caraman lost her reticule in the carriage, and it was returned to her the following morning. At first, she thought to find in it the pardon of her husband. Perhaps, in the days of ancient chivalry, and in less serious cases, this fashion of

gallantry would have been adopted. The Empress Joséphine observed that at one moment the Emperor was tempted to do so, but that he imagined the apparent forgetfulness was intentional and premeditated; and, that then he refused to concede the favour which was sought. Some months afterwards, M. de Caraman was liberated from prison to reside at Ivrée, in Piedmont, where he was under *surveillance.*

It was at the period of the Consulship that M. de Châteaubriand made his appearance in the literary world. I was intimately acquainted with his elder brother, who married Mademoiselle de Rosambeau, grand-daughter of the illustrious and virtuous defender of Louis XVI., and grand-niece of my aunt, Madame de la Regnière. The kindnesses which that respectable family had bestowed on me in my youth, had impressed my mind with such sentiments of gratitude and admiration as inspired me, even before reading it, with a favourable feeling towards the first work of an author, whose name was connected with so many honourable remembrances. Although abandoned to all kinds of dissipation, I perused the "Beauties of Christianity" with inexpressi-

ble pleasure, and it appeared to me altogether an admirable work. Some persons, more fastidious, had the boldness to censure M. de Châteaubriand for having introduced the episodes of Atala and of René, which they regarded as romantic incidents entirely foreign to the work, and at variance with the dignity of the subject. So much severity seemed to me unjust; the work is a poem in prose, embellished with the most brilliant colours of poetry, and not a treatise on theology. The first edition of this beautiful composition was dedicated to the First Consul, as the Restorer of Religion in France; and I have heard Napoleon, when speaking on the subject, say, that "He had never been better praised."

CHAPTER II.

Anecdotes relating to the Coronation, and the stay of the Pope in Paris.—Napoleon and Josephine repair to Notre-Dame for the Coronation.—The Chinese, or the Presidents of Canton.—The Bishop of Alais.—The wig of Cardinal Caprara; diplomatic negotiation on the subject.—Journey to Italy on account of the consecration.

WHEN the Pope had been a few days in Paris, all the world concurred in saying, that it was impossible for any one to conduct himself in a more admirable manner. People were both affected and edified by his goodness, his simplicity, his kindness towards others, and his austerity towards himself. His habits and style of living were those of a simple monk. He observed the fasts throughout the year as though he had been in his convent; and he never said a single word which could give rise to ridicule or even to jesting. It is also but right to remark that Napoleon, on his part, had always entertained for the Pope the utmost

readiness to serve him, and the most respectful veneration.

What I have said respecting the temperance and frugality of the Pope, must not be applied to all the persons in his suite. When I had been two months appointed Prefect of the Palace, I examined the accounts and the provision made for the household of the holy father; and I remarked that there were an infinite number of unaccountable articles. I knew that the Emperor had directed that whatever was applied for should be provided; those employed by the Pope knew it also, and they availed themselves largely of the privilege. For instance, they required every day five bottles of Chambertin wine for the Pope's table, when his Holiness always dined alone, and never drank any thing but water; the rest was in proportion. The other tables, prepared for the persons composing the suite, according to their rank, were served with magnificence and profusion; and yet it always appeared that Signor M——, one of the ecclesiastical officers of his Holiness, could not find at the table, to which he was admitted, a provision sufficiently copious to satisfy his vast appetite. One day the Count de B——, now peer of France, but then Chamberlain to the Emperor, and in at-

tendance on the Pope, having occasion to pass into a closet, he discovered the gentleman above-mentioned there, occupied in vigorously devouring the wreck of a large fat pullet with truffles, which he had had the address to carry off, and was using as a dining-table one of those moveables which the upholsterers now decorate with the name of *somno*, but which were then simply designated night-tables. It must not be forgotten that the Signor had just risen from table.

I was curious to witness the details of the Coronation, and the Count of Béarn-Brassac, with whom I had long been extremely intimate, proposed that we should go together to the Tuileries to see the different processions set out; neither he nor myself then belonged to the imperial household, and we made use of two admissions to the palace, which had been given to him by Madame de la Rochefoucault, Lady of Honour to the Empress Josephine. The first *cortége* was that of his Holiness, which set forth from the Pavilion of Flora. We then took up our station in the court below the great door of the vestibule of the grand staircase. After having admired the beauty of the horses and the elegance and rich-

ness of the carriages, we saw all the great personages enter the carriages which were to precede the Coronation-carriage. The Coronation-carriage is generally very grand, with glass and without panels; the back resembles the front. When their Majesties entered, they mistook the side, and placed themselves in the front; but in an instant perceiving their error, they threw themselves, laughing, into the back. This observation is, of course, trifling; but I know not how it is I have never been able to lose the remembrance of it. Some persons, more superstitiously inclined, would have attached to it greater importance.

As for the rest, nothing equalled the magnificence displayed on this occasion. The guests soon arranged themselves to return home. The Presidents of the Cantons gave rise to many pleasantries; the gaiety of the French wit was much amused, and acknowledged them only by the name of Chinese, in consequence of the similarity of the name of the Cantons to that of *Canton*. It was observed that those good men were greatly astonished at not occupying more attention than they did, having without doubt conceived that they should produce a great effect in Paris. When a man is the chief in his canton, he naturally imagines that he shall be

chief everywhere; the case was the same with all the secondary authorities; they discovered that the days of vulgar orators had passed away, and that under the sway of an Emperor who had conquered his throne at the point of the sword, it was great talents and military abilities, which would always lead to the possession of power and honours. A singular adventure happened to the president of one of the cantons. The occasion had suspended the regulations of the interior of the palace, and the entrance to the first rooms in the apartments of the Pope was free to all persons whose dress was appropriate and decent. M. de Serviès Camprédon, president of the canton of St. Gervais, arrondissement de Béziers, and grand prior of the brotherhood of White Penitents of St. Gervais, a pious and estimable man, was one of the most punctual in attendance in the passage of the Pope. One day, being pressed for time, he hastily pulled off his spatterdashes and thrust them into his pocket, having scarcely time to enter and to put himself, like all the rest, on his knees, to receive in his turn the benediction of the Holy Pontiff. Feeling the perspiration running down his face, he took one of his spatterdashes, covered with the mud of the streets of Paris, instead of his handkerchief, to wipe

it, without being aware of the strange effect produced by his mistake. Those about him, occupied with receiving the benediction of the holy father, saw nothing of this grotesque daubing, so that there was no one to apprize M. de Serviès of his condition. The Pope, without doubt, kindly put the most favourable interpretation on his haste and its consequences, and gave his benediction with so much the more earnestness, when he perceived the fatal spatterdash in the hand of the good president. M. de Serviès himself related to me his misadventure.

My uncle, formerly Bishop of Alais, and who died a Cardinal, Duke and Peer of France, had an audience of the Pope in the beginning of March, 1805. I was at my aunt's, Madame de la Reynière, with M. de Donaisan, as pious and amiable a man as could possibly be, when that illustrious prelate related to us the details of his interview; I took an exact note of it immediately afterwards, and I believe I succeeded in preserving even his very expressions, at least M. de Donaisan, whom I consulted, assured me that my report was faithful.

"Imagine," said he, smiling, "that the Pope

has made me sit down by his side."—"At his side!" replied my aunt, quite astonished at so great a favour.—"Ay! at his side, like his equal. You will readily believe that I asked him for no secrets, and that he confided none to me; but that being excepted, it is impossible to have received a more affectionate welcome. I said to him in Latin, (and it is very true,) that it was a kind of miracle, that he should have been able, in this country of contradictions, to conciliate all hearts, all opinions, and all parties; that his heart must have been touched to find that religious sentiments were not entirely eradicated from every mind; that he himself had been able to perceive this from all the testimonies of regard and of veneration, and which had not for a single instant been contradicted, although with an extreme kindness he had condescended to comply with all the requests which had been made to him to show himself to the multitude. I afterwards gave him the reasons respecting my health, which prevented me from accepting office; he was already acquainted with them, and said some most flattering things upon the subject. After about a quarter-of-an-hour of close conversation, I thought it right to retire. He would not for an instant permit that I

should prostrate myself at his feet, but he kissed me tenderly upon both my cheeks. I found the Pope to be all he had been described to me: he had a countenance in accordance with his character, full of simplicity, of goodness; a soft aspect, but strongly marked with religious feeling; warm without bitterness, and showing signs of the great sacrifices which he had had to make. My uncle added, that he knew the Pope had extricated himself with wisdom and with firmness from many embarrassing proposals which had been made to him, and which would have injured the dignity of his station, and that if it was still doubtful whether the clergy of France would derive any great advantage from the journey of the Pope, it was at least certain that his holiness had experienced the most complete personal success; that he had preserved, beyond all hope, the dignity of his character in a country where every thing tended to excite apprehension lest it should be compromised at a period still so close to the atrocities of the Revolution."

An amusing discussion occurred between the celebrated David, the chief of the French school, and Cardinal Caprara. The repugnance

which that great painter entertained against representing persons in modern costume is well known; it may even be said, that his repugnance extended to every species of clothing. In his magnificent picture of the Coronation, he represented Cardinal Caprara, one of the Pope's assistants, without his wig, and with a bald head: the portrait was a perfect likeness. The Cardinal, little sensible of that advantage, perceived nothing but what it wanted, and he entreated David to be good enough to restore his periwig. The other protested that he would never so far degrade his pencil as to paint it; his eminence demanded its restitution without avail; he addressed himself even to M. the Prince of Talleyrand, then Minister for Foreign Affairs, and the business was treated diplomatically. The Cardinal became the more warm in the discussion, because as the Pope had never worn a periwig, in renouncing his own he might be thought to put forth some pretensions to the chair of St. Peter, in case the holy see should become vacant. David yielded not, saying that his eminence ought to consider himself fortunate that "he had taken nothing more than his wig from him." The portrait remained in the picture unaltered.

In the month of March, the great deputation from the Italian Republic was received in the grand imperial chamber. M. de Melzy, since Duke of Lodi, presided over that numerous and brilliant deputation. It came to offer the crown of the kingdom of Italy, and that crown being one of those things which are never refused, it was accepted, and gave rise to a journey to Italy, in which I participated. The prospect of visiting that classic land of the arts and poetry made me happy. Moreover, I liked the life which I was to lead; I found it amusing, and I glided agreeably into a system so varied and altogether novel to me. The berlin in which I was placed brought me in contact with three persons entirely to my taste. These were General Lemarrois, Aid-de-camp to the Emperor; the Count de Thiars, Chamberlain; and General Defrance, Master of the Horse to his Majesty. Our characters and habits agreed astonishingly; thus our journey from Paris to Milan was an agreeable holiday.

Our duties, on arriving at the towns where their Majesties were to pass the night, or to continue more than a day, were to direct, each according to our office, the necessary arrangements for the provision of their Majesties, and of all the persons in their suite. Generally,

the apartments for their Majesties were previously prepared in the hotels of the prefectures. On no occasion did the owners of the houses occupied bear the expense; all the charges were defrayed by the purveyor previous to departing. Magnificent festivals, and ample presents, compensated fully for the confusion inevitable on such an occasion.

Every one who accompanied their Majesties found, on arriving at the different places, the necessary information respecting their lodgings. A large roll, upon which were inscribed their names and the addresses of the houses they were to occupy, was affixed to the door of the vestibule. The Imperial Palace was the point of general meeting. The ladies of the palace, the great officers, and the officers of the household, were served at the same table; in short, the ceremonies of the Tuileries were observed throughout the journey. Napoleon alone employed his time in a different manner. In the towns where he remained only a single night, he received the local authorities either before or after his dinner. He attended at these audiences which were always interesting, and it might be said familiar; it was on these occasions that he evinced the greatest kindness. No one ever retired from his presence without

being impressed with feelings of gratitude and admiration. These sentiments were so much the more just, as no one ever carried to a greater height than he did, the art of addressing persons on the subjects with which they were the most connected. That simplicity of manners and of language, that profound acquaintance with localities and all the departments of the administration, both civil and military, astonish even more perhaps than those lofty acts which appertain to history. On these occasions he refused nothing for real wants, and even for the embellishments of pleasure: he left every where traces of the nobleness of his thoughts, and of the goodness of his heart; it is unquestionably in such conduct, that one of the causes will be found to explain the attachment and the sympathy with which he was honoured in his misfortunes.

In the towns where Napoleon passed more than a day, after his breakfast and the audience, he mounted his horse and viewed the fortifications, and other monuments which could add to his knowledge of the localities. The evenings commonly terminated with fêtes, concerts, or balls, which were given by the inhabitants.

When we arrived at the foot of Mount Cenis it was necessary to take the equipages to

pieces, to place them upon mules, and to take our seats in chairs to be carried to the monkish hospital, where we passed the night. Napoleon had a particular regard for those good monks, who, almost always encompassed with ice and snow, consecrate their lives to the relief of humanity. Those venerable missionaries of love and of charity, often received from that Prince gratuities and considerable succours. Some years after, a grand and magnificent route was formed in this barren soil, by the directions of Napoleon. The acclivity was so easy towards the close of 1814, that the horse which drew my carriage ascended at a sharp trot, and descended without its being necessary to lock the wheel.

We remained some time at Stupinets, because Napoleon waited for the Pope, who was returning to Rome, and was to pass one or two days at Turin. Perhaps, too, our stay was prolonged in order to give the grand deputation time to arrive at Milan, and to prepare every thing for the reception of the new sovereign.

We halted for some days at Alexandria. A body of five-and-twenty thousand men was encamped upon the very spot where the battle of Marengo had been fought. The day (June

14, 1805), which dawned beautifully and serenely, was one of the anniversaries of that battle, the consequences of which were so important and so immense. The Emperor was to exhibit with the troops a part of the manœuvres which took place at the real engagement. Napoleon, who on ordinary occasions was extremely simple in his dress, and who never wore any other uniform than that of Colonel of Chasseurs of the guards, or of the grenadiers, received us on his rising, clothed in an old uniform of a general officer in the time of the Consulate, threadbare, and in some places torn. He held in his hand a large old gold-laced hat pierced with holes. I learned on quitting the chamber of the Emperor, that the dress and hat were those which he wore on the day of the battle of Marengo, and that the holes which I observed were made by the balls of the Austrians. My astonishment ceased. The most magnificent mantle would have appeared to me mean after those historical vestments. Napoleon passed a part of the day in manœuvring the troops; and a pavilion was constructed with a throne upon it for the Empress Josephine, who assisted in the distribution of the crosses of the legion-of-honour, which the Em-

peror himself presented to the soldiers who had been fixed upon. When all the troops had defiled before their majesties, they returned to Alexandria, and admitted to their table the general officers and colonels who commanded the camp.

CHAPTER III.

First Performance of the Templars at St. Cloud; Napoleon criticises it to M. de Fontanes—Napoleon sets out for Boulogne—Wagers laid for and against the Descent on England—Fulton, the inventor of steam-boats, proposes to Napoleon the Trial of his New Discoveries—Madame de Stael—Preparations for the Campaign of 1805.

THE court returned to St. Cloud, and it was then that the tragedy of "The Templars" was played. The first representation of it had taken place at the Théâtre Français during our visit to Italy. The different newspapers had spoken of it in such different manners that I was impatient to see it, and the effect it would produce upon Napoleon. During the acting it was easy to observe that he did not participate in the excessive admiration displayed by the partisans of the author; and he expressed his opinion without reserve, the same evening, to M. de Fontanes, who attended, as I did, at the evening audience.

On retiring to my apartments I set down the substance of the opinions which I had heard him deliver; and this recapitulation, which presents a kind of criticism on the work, will show the clearness of Napoleon's mind, the excellence of his tact, and the depth of his judgment. M. de Rémusat, as well as myself, was present at the conversation, and two days after I showed him the extract I am about to give, when he assured me that I had faithfully reported the opinion, and sometimes even the expressions of Napoleon.

"He had a difficulty in understanding how the tragedy had produced so great and varied an effect; for it did not appear to him to be either worthy of exalted praise or of severe censure. He was more than ever astonished at the warmth which was evinced on such subjects, and he regarded these extravagant ebullitions as the incurable weakness of the French. The piece, in general, appeared to him extremely cold, because nothing either *came from* or *went to the heart.* The author, forgetting that the genuine object of tragedy is to excite and soften an audience, is too desirous (said he) to give an opinion upon an occurrence which will always be enveloped in obscurity, because it is impossible to throw any light upon it. How

is it practicable, after a lapse of five hundred years, to decide whether the Templars were innocent or guilty, when the contemporary authors themselves are divided upon the subject, and are even in actual contradiction one with the other? All that can be said is, that it was a monstrous and inexplicable affair. The entire innocence or the entire guilt of the Templars is equally incredible;" and would it then be so painful to continue in doubt, when it is evident that all the research in the world could not produce a satisfactory result?"

Here M. de Fontanes made some remark which I could not catch, and the Emperor continued.

"For my part I think that if the author, since he wished to treat of such a subject, had been content to have adapted those historical facts which are equally admitted by all parties, he might have given a strength and dramatic colouring to his tragedy of which it is entirely destitute.

"The character of Philip the Fair, a violent and impetuous prince, carried away by his passions, absolute in all his desires, implacable in his enmities, and jealous to an extreme of his authority, might be adapted to theatrical purposes; and such a character would have been

in accordance with history. Instead of that, M. Renouard, in other respects a very excellent author, and gifted with great talent, represents him as a man without passion, as the cool friend of justice, and as having no reason either to like or to hate the Templars; as one who trembles before an inquisitor, and seems, merely as a matter of form, to ask from the Templars an act of submission and respect. Above all, the author appears to have neglected a classical maxim, which is established on a perfect knowledge of the human heart: it is this, that the hero of a tragedy, in order to interest us, should neither be wholly guilty nor wholly innocent. He might, without departing from the historical facts, have made a happy application of these principles to the Grand-master of the Templars; but he wished to represent him as a model of ideal perfection, and upon the stage ideal perfection is always cold and uninteresting. Instead of that, he had only to say, as the fact is, that the Grand-master had been weak enough to make confessions; it might be from fear or the hope of preserving his order, and afterwards to represent him as restored to honour by a happy exercise of courage and virtue, and as retracting his former confessions at the sight of the fatal pile which

awaited him. All weakness and all contradictions are unhappily in the heart of man, and present a colouring eminently tragic. I know that in all ages the number gifted with holy inspiration is very few; but what would have been the effect among us, of the author's representing the young Templars pious, unbending, and courageous, in the height of their misfortune, and adoring the wrathful hand of Providence, which punished them for having degenerated from the virtues of their ancestors, by an abuse of their power and their wealth? All these facts are admitted in history both by the accusers and the defenders of the Templars.

"Why has the author neglected to excite our sensibility, by the exhibition of those great vicissitudes of fortune, which overthrow at a blow grandeur, that in appearance was most solidly established, and plunged men who were distinguished by their brilliant services and illustrious birth, into misfortune? All these considerations, when they flow naturally from the subject, and are not set forth with affectation, or in a common-place manner, invariably touch the heart of the spectator.

"The love of young Marigny is completely insignificant, and cannot interest, for the object is unknown. It has not the slightest connexion

with the action of the piece, and would not be thought of, unless the actor took the trouble to inform the world that he was, or had been, in love.

"History also furnishes the author with strong materials for giving a powerful and decisive character to two such ministers as Nogaret and Enguerrand; but he has preferred making them two inferior members of committees.

In the part of Queen Joanna he was willing to play the courtier, and some of the verses assigned to her lead to that conclusion.

"In other respects the tragedy is naturally written, and contains some fine verses and thoughts happily expressed. Nevertheless, I continue to think that it ought to be looked upon in the same way as the affair of the Templars; and that it is neither so good nor so bad as has been pretended, just as the Templars were probably not so innocent or so guilty as they have been made to appear. It is even probable, that if Geoffroi had not attacked it so severely in his paper, so much would never have been said in its behalf."

I do not think I am mistaken as to the meaning in this report of Napoleon's opinion It should be remembered, that the tragedy oc

casioned a species of civil war in the republic of letters. Napoleon, while at Milan, had read all the articles in the papers, both for and against it, and even said one day, "That to judge from the fury of the parties, there was reason to fear that each meant to burn its adversaries like the Templars." I trust that the publication of this note will not be at all offensive to M. Renouard. Such discussions are not originated by mediocrity, and they serve to prove the merit of his tragedy. Napoleon looked at all things in a political point of view.

A short time afterwards, Napoleon set out for the camp at Boulogne, where immense preparations were making for a descent upon England. I accompanied the Empress Josephine to the waters of Plombieres. Wagers were offered—Will or will not the descent take place?—I had thought for a long while that that vast project would not be executed, and that Napoleon never could have intended to attempt it, unless it was facilitated by a civil war in England, or some unforeseen accident. I had always considered the immense preparations as a means of injuring those islanders; that it was a good policy to put them to incalculable expenses; to keep them in a state of

continual inquietude, and thus to force them to extreme measures, capable of disturbing their tranquillity, and overthrowing that magical credit, which forms one of the bases of the power of the English Government. Such was then the general opinion and mine as to the purport of those immense threatenings; but I have since had strong reasons to change. I am induced to believe that the idea of a descent really existed, that all the plans were actually concerted, and that, but for the error of the Admiral commanding the French fleet, it would, I will not say have succeeded, but have been seriously attempted. That Admiral had received orders to repair with his fleet to the West Indies, and to pursue so changeable and irregular a course as to be completely lost sight of, in order to draw off the English fleets, and to throw them into such a state of uncertainty, as to render it impossible for them to find him, or to conceive where he was. He had likewise received orders to return with all speed, to envelope his course in the greatest mystery, to unite with the Spanish fleet, and those which were stationed at Corunna and Rochefort, and rushing with a mass of seventy large ships into the Channel, to annihilate all the flotillas of observation in which England

confided so much, and finally to clear the passage, and facilitate the irruption and invasion of the French armies. Admiral Werhuel, Commander-in-chief of the Dutch fleet, had prepared the way, and forced the English squadron of observation to retreat. That Admiral, whose least praise was his bravery and his talent, waited at Ambléteuse, near the camp of Boulogne, to shelter our embarkations, and to forward this gigantic scene. But the French Admiral lost three-and-twenty days in blockading and attacking I know not now what island; he was followed by Nelson, and it was only through the strength of the winds that he escaped him to take refuge, and shut himself up in the port of Cadiz. At the time appointed for the return, one of Napoleon's aids-de-camp was stationed on a high light-house, with his telescope continually on the stretch, endeavouring to discover the arrival of the French and Spanish fleets. Thus the enterprise failed. The consequences of success would have been incalculable. It is sufficient to call to mind that England was the centre and the focus of all the coalitions, and that all the wars of the Continent against France have been paid for by her gold, and the immense subsidies which she gave to our enemies. At that period those sub-

sidies caused the war with Austria, who, without any preliminary declaration, invaded Bavaria, and prepared new triumphs for French valour.

I have been informed that Fulton, the inventor of steam-boats, offered to Napoleon the trial of his new discoveries. The proposition of the Anglo-American was not favourably received. The preparations for the descent were made; to have changed the system adopted would have required time, delay, new constructions, and much money, before it could have been possible to give a positive guarantee for success. Experience had not then, as it has now, shown the possibility of crossing the Channel in a few hours. Fulton returned to America, made his experiments on the immense lakes of Canada; and the work of his genius was soon scattered over the whole globe.

July, 1805.

No remarkable event occurred at Court after the return of their Majesties. I only learned that Madame de Stael intended to visit Paris, to enjoy the success of her romance of "Delphine;" but that she was prevented by her friends in Paris, who advised her not to quit

Geneva, because Napoleon, to whom some pages of the romance had been read, had considered it very wrong that she should declaim against the Catholic religion, while he was labouring to re-establish it in France.

About that time, the armies filed off rapidly towards the Rhine. When they arrived at Strasbourg we set out to join them. I was appointed to be in attendance about the Empress, who was to hold her court there for some time. Napoleon passed the Rhine with his army, and soon commenced that memorable campaign which was finished by the peace of Presbourg.

CHAPTER IV.

Return of Napoleon to France—M. Denon presents him with Medals upon the Campaign of Austerlitz—Conversation on the Subject—The Emperor gives orders to place a Battery of Twenty Pieces of Cannon at the Command of the General-in-Chief of the Finances—Conquest of the Kingdom of Naples—Omens of the Campaign of 1806;—Commencement of that War—*Caricatures* found at Berlin—Suspension of Hostilities—Proposal to assemble a Congress at Copenhagen; Refusal on the Part of Russia—Renewal of Hostilities;—Friedland, Eylau—Peace of Tilsit—Manner in which Napoleon lived when with the Army—The Prince of Neufchâtel—Bulletins of the Grand Army.

NAPOLEON returned to Paris to pass through a round of brilliant fêtes. Never was any thing more calculated to excite enthusiasm than were those wonderful events, which, surpassing all ordinary transactions, imparted to history itself the appearance of fable, and exhibited as in a magic glass, a change in all the scenery of empires, kingdoms, courts, and people. In the

midst of this general rejoicing, in the delirium of which I confess I partook most heartily, I ought not to forget that Napoleon, when dining at Strasbourg, and conversing with Marshal Kellermann on the events of the campaign, so gloriously terminated, expressed himself in a manner respecting Prussia, which declared that he would not long delay making it repent of its equivocal policy. "I have no fear of Prussia," said he, "because I have no apprehension of a power which is obliged to recruit its army in foreign countries. My army, on the contrary, is composed of faithful and enlightened countrymen, and of proprietors attached to the national glory by all the ties of honour and of duty."

A few days after our return, the Emperor being at St. Cloud, I asked him, during his breakfast, if he would be pleased to receive M. Denon, inspector of medals, who was desirous of presenting those which he had struck in commemoration of the achievements of the memorable campaign of Austerlitz. In accordance with his command, I introduced M. Denon, who held in his hands a number of medals. The series commenced with the departure of the army from the camp at Boulogne, on its march to the Rhine. The first repre-

sented on one side the bust of Napoleon, and on the other, a French eagle holding an English lion. "What does this mean?" said Napoleon. "Sire," said M. Denon, "it is the French eagle, stifling with his talons the lion, which is one of the attributes of the arms of England." I was seized with admiration, when I saw Napoleon throw the golden medal with violence to the end of the chamber, saying to M. Denon—"Vile flatterer! How dare you say that the French eagle stifles the English lion? I cannot launch upon the sea a single petty fishing-boat but she is captured by the English. It is in reality the lion that stifles the French eagle. Cast the medal into the foundry, and never bring me such another!" Looking over the other medals, and taking up that relating to the battle of Austerlitz, he censured the composition, and again commanded poor M. Denon to melt it:—"On one side merely put, 'The Battle of Austerlitz,' with its date, and on the other, the French eagle, with those of Austria and of Russia. Be assured, posterity will well know how to distinguish the conqueror." The modest thought of Napoleon, however, was not executed to the full; instead of the eagles, the effigies of the three emperors were introduced. From this I

may be believed when I say, that the greater part of those proud inscriptions, of those excessive eulogiums, published with so much show, and displayed upon so many public monuments, were not at all in accordance with the taste of Napoleon, and were still less his choice. Few men of his station have possessed so much modesty and simplicity. It was this feeling of reserve which made him refuse Marshal Kellermann, who appeared as the organ of a great body of citizens, permission to raise, at their own expense, a monument entirely to his glory. Napoleon "desired to merit that homage from his subjects by his whole life." Such was his reply; and although his statue surmounted the column of the Place Vendôme, it is certain that his first desire was to erect it to the glory alone of the French army. The statue was to have been that of Peace. The architect, Poyet, proposed to raise, by subscription, a triumphal column in honour of the Emperor, but he could not obtain permission to proceed; and if the famous column constructed with the cannons purchased by victory inspires admiration, the sixty-five fountains, which during the same year first flowed in the capital, excite gratitude, and prove that Napoleon was always more occupied with monuments of

public utility, than with those of vain glory. During his government, all that conduced to the general good, all that was grand and useful in the administration, proceeded from him; whilst all that I should call the luxury of glory was the natural consequence of that vital impulse which he had given to the fine arts, and of that impassioned admiration which was the sweetest reward for so many victories, and so many triumphs.

The cannons taken at Austerlitz did not serve only to form the column of the Place Vendôme, one of the finest monuments of modern times. One day, at the council of the ministers, the Duke of Gaeta, then minister of finances, applied to the Emperor for twenty of them. "What," said Napoleon, laughing, "would our minister of finances make war with us?" "Not with you, Sire," replied the minister, "but against some old and worn out machines, distressing and dangerous to the workmen employed in coining money; if your majesty will condescend to grant me those twenty cannons, chosen from among the worst, I will have made out of them new instruments for striking the impression for the whole of the mint, upon more approved and convenient models than the

present; and if your Majesty will so far authorise me, the name of Austerlitz shall be engraved upon each of these machines." The name of a battle so celebrated and so glorious to the French army decided the Emperor, and he instantly gave the minister of war an order to place a battery of twenty cannons at the disposal of his general-in-chief of the finances. These instruments still serve to strike the effigies of our kings. The Duke of Gaeta was one of the ministers who preserved the confidence of the Emperor from the foundation of the Consulate to the fall of the empire in 1814. That long and brilliant epoch was distinguished by an administration so wise, so enlightened, so profound, and so disinterested, that it is really right to censure that venerable conductor of our finances, for the excess of modesty which has prevented him from mentioning in the memoirs he has published, any of the good which he effected.

In order to explain the invasion of the kingdom of Naples, it is necessary to say that, for a length of time, Napoleon was apprised of the secret and intimate communications which that government carried on, contrary to the faith of treaties, with the court of London. These re-

ports had been at last so public, that during the first month of the campaign of Austerlitz, of which the king, or rather the queen, assuredly could not foresee the issue, that government, without any preliminary notifications, received in its ports twelve English and Russia vessels, having on board fifteen thousand men, who, united with the Neapolitan troops, were to make a diversion in Italy; a diversion which was annihilated by the rapidity of the victories of the French army; but England and Russia being at war with France, the Neapolitan court was to answer for the consequences of such an infraction. On becoming acquainted with it, the French Ambassador demanded his passports, and retired to Rome. After the campaign of Austerlitz, Napoleon sent a powerful army, and placed at the head of it Prince Joseph, who in a few months after was acknowledged King of Naples. The old court had not waited for his approach, but had retired into Sicily, where it soon experienced all the exigencies and sacrifices that the dependence on an ally so careful of its interests as England can impose. It is just to say, that Napoleon was very rarely the aggressor.

On the side to the north of Germany, great

clouds were rising. The Emperor Alexander, anxious to revenge the defeats which he suffered during the campaign of Austria, and little touched with the moderation of the conqueror, who had restored to him his prisoners, and who had permitted him to retire from a troublesome situation, in which even his person was positively compromised, without exacting any thing from him but his peaceable return to his own dominions—the Emperor Alexander, I say, little satisfied with his alliance with Austria, which a temporary weakness had compelled to be inactive, formed an alliance with Prussia. That alliance was intermingled with so many chivalrous and dramatic scenes, that it was impossible to doubt that war was about to recommence, of no less magnitude than violence. Immense preparations were made on both sides.

For some days Napoleon was entirely occupied with geographical charts, and when he had acquired an exact knowledge of the positions of the enemy, I heard him say, "On the 8th, the army will be in the presence of the enemy; on the 10th, I shall beat them at Scafeld; they will retire to Jena and Wiemar, where I shall beat them again; on the 14th or 15th, I shall have destroyed the Prussian army, and

before the end of the month, my victorious eagles will be in Berlin."

If Russia could have transported its multitudes with the flight of a bird, its alliance would have been of immense weight in the enemy's army; but as all its marches were arranged, Prussia was compelled to bear the first shock and to succumb; there was, therefore, only its wreck which the Russian auxiliary army gathered together when it arrived at Ligne.

The annihilation of Prussia was so rapid, that the police had not time to direct the tradesmen to conceal the innumerable caricatures and engravings which the French found exhibited in all the shops. One of them, and that, too, the one which was most generally circulated, represented the scene of the oath taken upon the sepulchre of Frederick II. On one side were seen the Emperor Alexander and the beautiful Queen of Prussia with her hand pressing upon her heart; and on the other, her husband the king stretching his hand forth from the tomb. It only wanted the genius of England, the true instigator of all the discords which disturbed Europe.

The campaign of Austerlitz had created the kings of Bavaria, Wurtemberg, &c.; that of Jena founded the kingdom of Saxony, and caused all the reigning branches of that noble house to enter into the confederation of the Rhine; and at a subsequent period, the treaty of Tilsit placed the crown of Westphalia on the head of Prince Jerome.

During the brief interval of repose, proposals were made for holding a congress at Copenhagen, whither all the belligerent powers were to send ministers, in order to conclude a general peace. The interest of France induced her to treat upon the grounds of equality and reciprocity, and to require the admission of Turkey, which he considered as her ally; but those bases were rejected by Russia, and the war continued. After the conquest of Dantzic, victorious France ought no longer to have indulged in those deceitful hopes, for, in gaining some weeks, Russia had no other object than to form arrangements for its provisioning, which had become the more necessary since the defeats of the Prussian army, thrown back beyond the Vistula. The battle of Eylau renewed the round of victories, and that of Friedland com-

pelled the Russian army to retreat, and to look to its own defence.

The battle of Friedland was fought on the 14th of June, one of the anniversaries of the battle of Marengo.

This glorious campaign was concluded by the peace signed at Tilsit, on the banks of the Niemen, the frontier of Russia: the King of Prussia possessed only the country between the Niemen and the Memel. If Napoleon had been ambitious!!!

Napoleon's manner of living when with the army, was simple and without show. Every individual, whatever might be his station, had a right to approach and address him concerning his interests; he heard, interrogated, and decided at once; if it was a refusal, the reasons were explained in a manner which softened the disappointment. I was never able to behold, without admiration, the simple soldier quit his rank, as his regiment filed off before the Emperor, approach him with a serious measured step, and presenting arms, place himself immediately before his commander. Napoleon always received the petition, read it entirely through, and granted all proper requests. That

noble privilege which he had bestowed upon bravery and courage, inspired every soldier with a feeling of his consequence and of his duty, and at the same time served as a curb to restrain those among the superiors who might have been inclined to abuse their power.

The simplicity of Napoleon's character and manners was particularly remarkable when the march was easy and uninterrupted by action; always on horseback, in the midst of his generals, his gallant aide-de-camp, the officers of his household, and of his staff of young and valiant officers, his gaiety, I had almost ventured to say his good fellowship, diffused itself into every heart. He often gave the command to halt, and sat down under a tree with the Prince of Neufchâtel. The provisions were spread before him, and every body, even from the page up to the great officers, one way or another, got every thing that he required. It was truly a fête for every one of us. Napoleon, by dismissing from about him every thing which had any resemblance to intrigue, had inspired the whole of his household with a feeling of affection, of union, and of reciprocal goodwill, which made all our stations comfortable. The frugality of Napoleon was such, that his taste gave the preference to the most simple

and the least seasoned dishes; as *œufs au miroir* and *haricots en salade.* His breakfast was almost always composed of one of these dishes and a little parmesan cheese. At dinner he eat little, rarely of ragoûts, and always of wholesome things. I have often heard him say, "that however little nourishment people took at dinner, they always took too much." Thus his head was always clear, and his labour easy, even when he rose from table. Gifted by nature with a perfectly healthy stomach, his nights were as calm as those of an infant; nature, also, had bestowed on him a constitution so admirably suited to his station, that a single hour of sleep would restore him after four-and-twenty hours' fatigue. In the midst of the most serious and urgent events, he had the power of resigning himself to sleep at pleasure, and his mind enjoyed the most perfect calm, as soon as directions were given for the necessary arrangements.

The Prince of Neufchâtel had also a disposition suited to the eminent rank which he occupied about Napoleon; the projects, the plans, the commands, the wishes of the Emperor, were all confided to, and executed by the Prince. Every night he was awakened and called for five or six times, and he was always on waking cheerful, agreeable, and without

peevishness: he was in reality a piece of mechanism, whose springs the Emperor moved at his pleasure. The attachment of the Prince to the person of Napoleon was such, that he would not accept of the crown of Sweden, which he could easily have obtained: it was from himself that I learned that fact. It is, however, right to say, that the most magnificent gifts and vast indemnities ensured him a life sufficiently brilliant to make him prefer, without regret, his attachment to his ambition. Amorous as in the days of ancient chivalry, having in former times transported to the burning soil of Egypt the impassioned worship which he rendered to the portrait of his beautiful mistress, and, returning always faithful and always constant, he could never decide voluntarily to separate himself from the object of so many vows: friendship and love alone decided his destiny.

Every moment of the day was a moment of labour for Napoleon, when even with the army. If he ceased for an instant to consult the charts, to arrange the plans of battle, and to meditate upon the prodigious combinations which it was necessary to employ in order to move with mathematical precision a mass of

from four to five hundred thousand men, he occupied himself with the domestic administration of the empire. Several times in the course of the week a messenger arrived at the Imperial quarters from the Council of State, charged with dispatches from all the ministers, and never was the labour of inspection postponed until the morrow; every thing was examined during the day, signed, and forwarded: all things moved on together. The days which succeeded a skirmish, an action, or a battle, were employed in receiving the reports from the different corps of the army, in uniting together all the isolated facts, in distributing to each his proper share of the glory, in digesting, in a word, those immortal bulletins, which, through their concision, clearness, order, and manly simplicity, present a classic model of military eloquence. It is in those brilliant archives that the titles of the French army to renown are for ever engraved. By a remarkable singularity, those bulletins, sent to Paris to be printed, were read and admired by all France, before they reached the army, which only became acquainted with them on the arrival of the journals from the capital. It must be regretted, however, that several of those documents, especially those which have

reference to the beautiful Queen of Prussia, should have been written with anger and without courtesy; and they would even be without excuse, if the violent and injurious provocations which Napoleon received were not remembered.

CHAPTER V.

Premature death of the eldest son of Queen Hortensia.—First idea of the divorce of Napoleon.—Death of the last Stuart.—Madame de Bonchamps, widow of the celebrated General, has a private audience with the Emperor.—The Abbé Fournier, Bishop of Montpellier, converses with Napoleon on theological subjects.—Joséphine at Fontainebleau.—Plan for the Royal Family of Spain to go to America.

THE young Prince Napoleon, the eldest son of the Queen of Holland, died during the campaign of 1806-7. He had attained his seventh year, and gave indications of a most happy disposition, and of a sweetness and flexibility of character, which would have rendered him susceptible of receiving the most noble impressions. Being the first born of the new dynasty, he attracted all the solicitude, and all the tenderness of its chief. Malignity and envy, which always strive to revenge themselves on distinguished superiority, have invented calumnious

explanations of that almost parental attachment; but men of integrity discover only in that adoptive tenderness, a regard for posterity, and the hope to transmit his power to an inheritor of his name, whose education he was desirous of directing himself. The death of young Napoleon, like an omen of misfortune, came in the midst of the round of glory, and induced Napoleon to concentrate his hopes, and the inheritance of so many victories, in himself alone and his direct line. This was, I think, the moment when the first idea occurred of a divorce, which took place two years afterwards, and which began to be privately talked about during the journey to Fontainebleau, in 1807.

The Cardinal of York died at Rome, on the 13th of July. His mortal remains were deposited in the choir of the chapel of St. Peter, where those of his father, James III., already rested. The body of Prince Charles Edward, brother of the Cardinal of York, which had been buried at Frascati, was, in accordance with the last will of the prelate, removed to the chapel of St. Peter. The tomb thus closed upon the last of the male lines of the illustrious and unfortunate family of the Stuarts; and death thus swept away all the high and un-

successful pretensions to the crown of England. Prince Charles Edward, known by the name of the Pretender, grown old and retired to Rome, was afflicted with the gout, and during its attacks he never ceased to exclaim, "Poor king! poor king!!!" He was little visited by the English, and a French gentleman expressing his astonishment: "I know the reason," said he; "they imagine that I am still mindful of what is passed. I should see them, however, with pleasure, notwithstanding; I love my subjects, though I never see them."

Napoleon, at my request, granted a private audience to Madame de Bonchamps, widow of the celebrated Commander-in-chief of the first royal army in La Vendée. It was certainly far from his intentions to tolerate civil wars; but he recognized so much of nobleness, of talent, and of magnanimity in the conduct and character of the Count de Bonchamps, that he never spoke of him but in the most honourable terms.

Napoleon conversed with much interest with Madame de Bonchamps, and asked her all manner of questions respecting the war of La Vendée; and he drew from her a relation of all the

dangers she had experienced in accompanying her husband to the field of battle, carrying her child in a basket placed upon the horse on which she was mounted, and supporting with courage and dignity all the fatigues and all the chances of so extraordinary a situation. Madame de Bonchamps is little and delicate, but she has a most noble heart, and the most elevated sentiments. Napoleon did not confine himself to vague and obliging words; he insisted upon knowing her circumstances, and what means the misfortunes of the time had spared her; and when he learned that she possessed nothing, he instantly assigned her a pension of six thousand francs, with the payment of two years' arrears, and promised to give her daughter a dowry when she should be of an age to be married.

I have thought it right to insert these details of the audience Madame de Bonchamps obtained of the Emperor, in order to supply the silence of Madame de Genlis upon the subject, and to render that to Napoleon which is his due. Madame de Bonchamps will not surely feel offended that I betray the secret of her gratitude.

After levee, July 22, 1806, the Emperor de-

sired his almoner, the Abbé Fournier, who had been appointed Archbishop of Montpellier, to remain; and he talked with him for a long while upon matters of theology, a kind of conversation which he liked extremely. The Bishop of Montpellier, perceiving that Napoleon sought for nothing but explanations, thought it right to take the utmost advantage of the opportunity which presented itself for infusing religious sentiments into the mind of the Emperor; and at once advanced with ardour all those thoughts and inspirations, which could lead to the result he so much desired. Napoleon, without partaking of the enthusiasm of the prelate, was not the less satisfied with his goodness and his zeal. There were, however, two points upon which, above all, they could not agree; that of hell, and that of no salvation out of the pale of the church. The Emperor said to the Empress Josephine, laughing, that "he had disputed like a devil upon those two points, and upon which the Bishop, on his part, had been inexorable." The Bishop of Montpellier had for a long time enjoyed the reputation of a man distinguished by his virtues and his talents. He had even become celebrated by his sermons, by the extraordinary persecutions which they brought upon him, by the unaffected and calm courage with which

he sustained them, and by the road which those very persecutions opened to him to the elevated station which he now fills. All Paris flocked to hear him preach; and that eagerness for some years excited the discontent of the police. It was alleged that the sermon on the passion of Christ contained some striking allusions to the deplorable catastrophe of Louis XVI. On the report of the Minister of Police he was arrested, thrown into the Bicêtre as a madman, and shaved, and actually treated like one. In the midst of such unjust treatment, he continued calm and tranquil. Upon a new report of Fouché he was removed and confined with the galley-slaves at Turin. He was neither more affected nor unhappy than at the Bicêtre. By the wisdom of his conduct during two years of horrible captivity, he became generally venerated. When the late Archbishop of Auch, M. de Latour du Pin Montauban, consented to take the bishopric of Troyes, the only recompense which he asked for a sacrifice, which was burthensome at his great age, was the liberation of the Abbé Fournier, who had been his grand-vicar before the Revolution. He obtained it; and Cardinal Fesch, who took a great interest in the fate of so distinguished a man, desired him to stay with him at Lyons, where he preached

during Lent with the greatest success. Cardinal Fesch afterwards introduced him into the imperial chapel; and a short time afterwards he was appointed almoner to the Emperor and Bishop of Montpellier.

December 13, 1808.

It was while Napoleon was on his visit to Italy that the opera of "The Vestal" was represented for the first time. The Empress Josephine, passionately attached to the arts, and above all others to that of music, felt as strongly as any one the necessity of introducing on our lyric stage, those alterations which taste had consecrated in Germany and in Italy, and which were principally to be attributed to the immortal works of Mozart and Cimarosa. A young Italian composer, without patronage, without support, without any claim than that of being a pupil of the distinguished Cimarosa, made his debut at Paris, and displayed great talent in several brilliant compositions. La Finta Philosofa; Milton; Julia, or the Flower-pot; and The Cottage, had already given great celebrity to the name of M. Spontini; the indifferent success of the two last works did not prevent it from being acknowledged that the music contained beauties of the first order,

and great promise of genius. From that moment the good-will, and even the protection of the Empress Josephine were extended to M. Spontini, and she appointed him her composer. I liked both the talent and the person of Spontini, and I was persuaded that he required nothing to achieve great success, but a poem on which he could display the riches of his warm imagination, and the resources of a science whose limits he might be said to have extended. A chance, to which I was no stranger, brought M. Spontini in contact with a literary man, who had pursued several kinds of composition with éclat. M. de Jouy entrusted him with the poem of "The Vestal," and that alliance of superior talents produced the most perfect opera that has been seen for a length of time upon any stage. In fact, the poem is throughout remarkable for depicting a grand passion which triumphs over all obstacles, over all fears, and over all ties, and for that courageous resignation, which creates in the mind of the spectator those strong and melancholy emotions which are the sweetest charm of a dramatic composition. The music, from being scientific, pure, and melodious in its style, fraught with graces, and inspirations happily adapted to the situations and the spirit of the poem, has placed the

name of Spontini on a level with those great masters who have illustrated the lyric scene. The grand decennial prize which was awarded to the authors, proved how enlightened a taste the Empress Josephine possessed. That Princess removed some obstacles which retarded the production of the opera; and contrary to the established custom of the Court, she attended in the royal box at the first representation of a work which appeared under her auspices, and of which she had accepted the dedication. The opera of "Fernandez Cortez" could not but add to the triumph of the same authors, and, like "The Vestal," it was dedicated to the Empress Josephine. It ought to be noticed, to the eternal honour of Messrs. de Jouy and Spontini, that that homage of their talents to their illustrious protectress, was so much the more delicate and disinterested because the political necessity of the divorce was already, I may say, proclaimed.

Napoleon had flattered himself that the royal family of Spain, alarmed at the silent position which he maintained in the midst of the intestine dissensions which agitated their kingdom, would decide, on seeing the armies of France penetrate into the heart of the Penin-

sula, to seek for a retreat in their South American colonies, in accordance with the example of the family of Braganza, which had abandoned Portugal to reign in Brazil. Godoi and King Charles both conceived the project. But the discontent of the nation was so expressed, when they merely announced a journey of the Court into Andalusia, that they were obliged to renounce it. The royal family of Portugal was differently situated: at Lisbon it had vessels at hand and under the protection of the English fleets; whilst King Charles, having his residence in the centre of the kingdom, would have been compelled to travel through an immense tract of country before he could reach a port fit for his embarkation; and that passage would not have been without danger of interruption, in consequence of the general hatred which was entertained against the favourite, and the security against the measure which the seizing of the person of the King naturally presented.

CHAPTER VI.

Preparations for a Journey into Spain.—Departure of Napoleon for Bordeaux.—Count Fernand-Nunez at Châtelleraut.—Rapidity of the Journey of Napoleon to Bourdeaux, Arrival, and Reception.—Secretary Montholon despatched to Madrid.—The Emperor gives me two autograph letters from King Charles, and one from King Ferdinand to translate.—Josephine arrives at Bourdeaux.—The Emperor sets out for Bayonne.—The Infant Don Carlos at Bayonne.—Napoleon resides at Château de Marac.—Ferdinand at Irun.—Letter from that Prince to Napoleon.—His arrival at Bayonne.—Napoleon visits him.—Dinner at the Château de Marac.—The Empress Josephine arrives at Marac.—Intercepting of Correspondence, 1808.

In my situation I could not be ignorant that the Emperor intended to visit the southern provinces of his empire. A journey even to Spain was talked of, and one day during the Emperor's breakfast it was openly discussed. I had occasion to praise the Spanish language,

which I found singularly appropriate to the noble and haughty character of that nation. The Emperor asked me if I had learned it, and I replied that formerly I had studied it for my amusement, but that I hoped, if he did me the honour to intend me to follow him, I should find a fit opportunity to exercise myself in speaking it well. The conversation went no farther.

[The events which occurred in Spain in the early part of this year (1808)—the conspiracy imputed to Ferdinand—the imprisonment of Godoi, the Prince of the Peace, the favorite of the King and Queen—the abdication of Charles—the advance of the French army under the Grand-duke de Berg (Murat)—are too well known to require repetition here.]

The news of the events of Aranjuez found us ready to set out. All the preparations had been completed some time. I thought, however, that there would be some alterations, and originally that the Empress Josephine would remain at Paris; but it was arranged that her departure should take place some days after that of Napoleon. According to custom, I set out four-and-twenty hours in advance, with a

party of attendants who were to stop at Bordeaux; and when we were at some leagues from Châtelleraut, a young traveller, in a shabby post-chaise, signified to the postilions who drove my carriage, that he wished to speak with the Emperor's officer. He had learned who I was by the courier who preceded me. I alighted from my carriage after he had made me acquainted with his name and rank. It was the Count of Fernand-Nunez, sent by the King of Spain to the Emperor. We conversed for some time as we walked upon the road; he told me that "he was aid-de-camp to the King, sent to compliment the Emperor, to acquaint him with the event of Ferdinand succeeding to the crown of Spain, and to see with his eyes the niece of the Emperor who was to espouse his sovereign." I showed him the list of the persons who followed the Emperor, and also that of the ladies who were to accompany the Empress Josephine, to convince him that no princess of the rank with her, whom he was to see *with his eyes*, was comprised in it. From his manner I judged that he did not believe I was at all in the secret of the affair, and remained persuaded that he should encounter the future bride of his king. We separated: when in a month afterwards we saw each other at

Bayonne, he agreed with me that he had better have trusted to what I said, than have persisted in a wish to *see with his eyes* a princess who was not even in Paris. I laughingly intreated him to tell me how his request had been received at Tours, where I knew he had encountered the Emperor. He assumed a serious and diplomatic air, and gave me no answer. I thought I saw, however, that he looked upon the approaching arrival of the niece of the Empress as certain. He was really obstinate.

The progress of Napoleon was so rapid that he arrived at Bordeaux some hours after the party with whom I set out. He had left all those who accompanied him a long way behind. The Duke of Bassano and M. de Champagny, their chancery and their interpreters did not arrive till the next day. Napoleon had no one with him but the Prince of Neufchâtel, and the other persons arrived successively during the night. The evening of his arrival at Bordeaux, Napoleon appeared to be waiting for some one. In effect, I saw M. de Montholon arrive from Spain. He was the aide-de-camp of the Grand-duke of Berg, and the same, who upon the rock of St. Helena, has left to history the charge of relating his devotion. The des-

patches which he brought, among other matters, contained two intercepted letters, the one from King Charles, and the other from King Ferdinand. These letters were the originals and in Spanish. The Grand-duke supposing that Napoleon would have secretaries about him for such purposes, and being in haste, forwarded them without their being translated. In the anxiety which Napoleon felt to learn the contents of these letters, and which he imagined to be much more important than they really were, he remembered what I had said to him at St. Cloud of my taste for the Spanish language. He called me. "Can you," said he, "give me at once a notion of the contents of these two letters?" I asked permission to read them over first, and I succeeded afterwards in giving him an exact analysis of them. "I thought them more important," said he; "but no matter, take them and bring me the translation of them to-morrow when I awake." I passed part of the night in preparing the translation, and examined it several times, fearful lest I should have mistaken the most simple expression. Napoleon asked for it when he awoke, and I presented my work, with which he appeared satisfied. King Charles wrote to his son to remind him of the promise he had made to save the life of Godoï.

That kind old man, concerned only for his favourite, asked nothing for himself. I have accidentally preserved some phrases of the answer of Ferdinand; I say by accident, because then I did not take the trouble, as I have done since, to keep exact copies of the translations which I made. It was dated Madrid, March 27, and ran as follows:—

"Sire and august father, I rejoice to learn that the health of your Majesty is better, and I am thankful for the letter with which you have honoured me. I hasten to assure you that I am incapable of seeking to afflict you. I have promised to protect the life of D. Manuel Godoi. I am a man of honour and will not swerve from it. The people nevertheless are very much alarmed; they believe that the French are only come to Madrid for his protection, and to save him. It is necessary to satisfy them; but I beg your Majesty to rest well assured that I will not at all seek to augment your inquietudes and your fears. I have ordered the rounds to be performed with greater exactness, because the presence of the French is the pretext for much alarm. There has even been a scene of disorder after some angry words between a Spanish peasant and a French soldier; but all was soon appeased; had it not been so, there

would have been much blood spilled, because the French are numerous not only in Madrid, but throughout Spain. I repress these germs of disunion; and to re-establish tranquillity, I have published an official account in order to make better known the pacific intentions with which the French are animated, &c. &c."

I was amply recompensed for the pains I had taken with my translation, for when the Duke of Bassano arrived, Napoleon said to him in my presence, that he should have no more occasion for secretaries for that duty,—that I was sufficient for him. From that time to the period of his abdication in 1814, he honoured me with his confidence. Even at Blois, whither I had accompanied the Empress-regent, he sent some Spanish papers to me from Fontainebleau, of which he desired a translation. If I have spoken of myself in this affair, I have done so to engage the confidence of those who may cast their eyes upon this little work, and to guarantee to them the fidelity and exactitude of the facts which have come to my knowledge from a source so authentic.

The Empress Josephine arrived at Bordeaux. Napoleon, after a repose of ten days, set out alone for Bayonne. This division arose

I think, from the circumstance that there were not suitable apartments for both in the old palace at Bayonne. We knew that for some time orders had been given for more elegant furniture. That limitation in the orders, which at first were confined to a single suite of rooms at Bayonne, only confirmed me in the idea that originally the Emperor alone was to undertake the journey, and to go to Madrid. The whole of the arrangements were changed, I think, by the revolution of Aranjuez. The aspect of affairs was no longer the same: a nation which rose *en masse* to displace the crown, to dismiss a weak and abased government, and to confide its destinies to a young prince, adored, and for a long time oppressed, presented an entirely different appearance: a new course was to be pursued. It was necessary above all things to avoid wounding the pride of a people who showed themselves so haughty and irritable, although they had then, as now, neither treasures, army, industry, nor commerce. It was necessary to appear as a friend, and to hold a court at Bayonne, which was sufficiently convenient to receive the King and Queen of Spain. No one was better capable of sustaining it with grace and dignity than the Empress Josephine, assisted by the ladies who accompanied her.

Napoleon arrived at Bayonne in the night of the 14th or 15th of April. The Grand Marshal, after having visited the Chateau de Marrac, situated at a quarter of a league from the town, gave the orders, and two days afterwards it was in a condition to receive their majesties and the ladies of the Palace, when they should arrive, as well as the Prince of Neufchâtel and the Grand Marshal. The other persons were provided for in the environs and at Bayonne. The guard bivouacked in the lawn, in the front of the chateau, and formed a camp which had a very agreeable appearance. On the 15th, after having received all the authorities, Napoleon inspected the fortifications, viewed the establishments of the harbour, and returned to the Government Palace at five o'clock in the evening. He expected to receive a visit from the Infant Don Carlos, whom his brother Ferdinand had sent in courtesy. That Prince was ill for some days, and remained incognito. I do not know whether his illness was real or merely diplomatic; that which is of the latter class is convenient and useful, and gives time for plotting. At all events, Napoleon thought it right to send his physician and one of his *valets de chambre* to attend particularly to the

Prince, and to contribute by their endeavours to the re-establishment of his health. He sent regularly several times a-day to learn how the Prince was; in whose condition, however, there was nothing alarming. When the Infant arrived at Bayonne, the military duties about him were performed by the troops of the garrison; but Napoleon replaced them by the guard of honour of the town.

Prince Ferdinand left Vittoria on the morning of April the 19th, and arrived at Irun in the evening. He wrote the following letter the same evening, which was entrusted to the Emperor's aid-de-camp, who had accompanied him from Madrid, and who arrived at Bayonne ten hours before the Prince, after having travelled all night.

"Sir, my Brother,

"In consequence of what I had the honour of writing yesterday, to your Imperial and Royal Majesty, I have come to Irun, and I intend setting out at eight o'clock to-morrow morning, to have the advantage of that of which I have been long ambitious, could I arrive at it—an interview with your Impe-

rial and Royal Majesty, at the Palace of Marrac.

"I remain, with sentiments of the highest esteem and regard,

"Your Imperial and Royal Majesty's good Brother,

"FERDINAND."

"Irun, April 19, 1808."

Napoleon had some difficulty in believing the report of his aid-de-camp. "How! is he coming?" cried he. "No! it is not possible!" I heard this myself. That he was not afterwards a party to the arrangement of matters I will not pretend to say; but I can assert that at the first moment he was much embarrassed. Perhaps he was not prepared for so much weakness. He had hoped at one time, that at the sight of a Spanish frigate equipped for sea, Ferdinand would of himself have formed the idea of embarking for America. He was deceived.

Indeed, how was it to be imagined, that a young prince, who had been raised to the throne by a popular insurrection, listening to doubtful insinuations, which were not supported by any letter or any previous negotiation, should permit himself to be hurried from

one place to another beyond his kingdom, enquiring adventurously on all sides, to learn whether he should be received as a king, or merely as a prince, and forgetting that that important point ought to have been regulated and settled before he left Madrid. Of what utility, then, was the numerous *cortége* of counsellors of all descriptions who followed in his suite? Would not his hand refuse to sign the order for giving liberty to Godoi, his most cruel enemy? And if his invaded capital offered him no longer a convenient asylum, why should he not have recourse to his faithful provinces, take Godoi thither, judge him, and then openly declare war? That proud and indignant nation, which had so long and so obstinately resisted without its king, what could it not have done with him!

My respect for the supreme power would have made me suppress these harsh reflections, if the change of scene and the inevitable decrees of Providence had not replaced King Ferdinand on the throne, to which he was called by the right of birth. It is, however, useful sometimes to remind the great that they are exposed to the same vicissitudes as other men. Those meditations which remind them of past misfortunes, always tend to the advan-

tage and welfare of their subjects; at least, such ought to be the case.

The Prince of Asturias arrived at Bayonne at midnight on the 20th of April. The Emperor had not sent any one to receive him on the frontier; he was merely met at some distance from the town by the Prince of Neufchâtel, the Grand-marshal, and the Count of Angosse, the Chamberlain appointed for his particular service. Prince Ferdinand was complimented in the name of the Emperor, escorted by the guard of honour of the department, and proceeded with that slight retinue to the palace which was destined for his occupation. He was received by the three personages whom I have just named, and who had gone on before him.

M. de Cevallos (p. 70) complains of the unsuitableness of the habitation prepared for the royal traveller; but he would have done well to remember that the town offered no other resource. It was the best house to be found; it was new and very well furnished. The Infant Don Carlos was already residing in it. An hour afterwards Napoleon visited Prince Ferdinand, who went to the street-door to receive him. They embraced, and entered the apartments. The interview lasted about half

an hour; but I do not think there was much conversation upon business. No confidence could exist between them. After Napoleon had left, the Grand-marshal came, on the part of the Emperor, to invite Prince Ferdinand, Don Carlos, the Duke of Infantado, M. de Cevallos, the Duke of San Carlos, the Abbé Excoiquiz, and, I believe, the Count of Fernand-Nunez, to dinner. Napoleon's carriages were sent to convey those illustrious guests; and when they arrived at the Château of Marrac, Napoleon descended to the foot of the steps where the Prince's carriage had stopped. That was the only mark of attention which appeared to me to be a part of those he commonly paid to crowned heads. I had already some trifling acquaintance with what was passing in Spain; and as my new office of Translator to the Cabinet did not prevent me from discharging my duties as Prefect of the Palace, I waited with impatience for the dinner, at which I regularly attended, curious to behold so extraordinary a meeting. I admired the address with which the Emperor avoided addressing Ferdinand either by the title of Majesty or of Highness. He made full compensation by the most refined politeness, and more than his customary courtesy; he extended it even to all the courtiers of the

Prince; and, in short, he managed so well that the countenances of all the guests appeared to me to express a genuine satisfaction at so favourable a reception. After dinner the conversation lasted but a short time; and when Ferdinand left, the Emperor did not accompany him farther than the door of the apartment.

It is affirmed, that an hour after the Prince had returned home, he received a message from the Emperor, by which he was informed that he would receive no other title than that of Prince of Asturias, until the arrival of King Charles, who was then on his road to Bayonne, because then the great debate between the father and the son would naturally be decided.

The guard of honour and the imperial guard were simultaneously on duty at the palace of Ferdinand; and they were reinforced by a numerous and picked detachment of gend'armerie.

The Empress Josephine arrived at the château of Marrac, on the evening of the 27th; and the apartments of the palace of the former government of Bayonne were prepared for the reception of the late Court of Spain, which was expected.

It is useless to make a mystery of the plans which were adopted to acquire a knowledge of what was done, what was said, and what was written in the palace occupied by the young princes. Similar measures, it is said, are customary in similar cases. That young and confiding Court was far from suspecting them during the beginning of its stay at Bayonne. Daily and secret reports were made to Napoleon. The Prince and his courtiers wrote without precaution, but their couriers were stopped at the frontier by a double line of chosen gens-d'armes and custom-house officers, who rummaged every passenger, even the wives of the common people, without mercy; upon whom they often found despatches, which were to be remitted to Spanish emissaries, who waited beyond the Bidassoa; the despatches were taken from the Spanish couriers sent from Bayonne, and they were permitted to enter Spain without farther inconvenience. It was sufficient, that it was impossible for them to have the power of giving the alarm. As for the couriers who came from Madrid, their despatches also were taken from them, and they were compelled to re-enter Spain.

On the 29th, the Emperor sent for me early in the morning, and commanded me to trans-

late immediately in his presence the following letter:—

"Bayonne, April 28, 1808.

"To Don Antonio.

"Dear Friend:—I have received your letter of the 24th, and I have read the copies of the two others which are enclosed, the one from Murat, and your answer; I am satisfied with it; I have never doubted of your prudence, nor of your friendship for me. I know not how to thank you.*

"*The Empress arrived here yesterday evening at seven o'clock; there were only a few little children who shouted "Long live the Empress!" in other respects her reception was cold; she passed on without stopping, and proceeded forthwith to Marrac, whither I shall go to-day to visit her.*

"Yesterday Cevallos had a very warm interview with the Emperor, who called him a traitor, because after having been the minister of my father he is now attached to me, and which is the cause of the contempt he entertains for him. I know not how Cevallos contained himself, for he is easily irritated, and

* The passage in italics was suppressed in the translation inserted in the "Moniteur."

above all when charged with such reproaches. I never knew Cevallos before now; I find that he is a man of worth, who regulates his sentiments according to the true interests of his country, and that he is of a firm and energetic character, such as is to be desired under the present circumstances.*

"I have to inform you that Marie-Louise (Queen of Etruria) has written to the Emperor that she was a witness of the abdication of my father, and she asserts that that abdication was not voluntary.

"Govern well, and be on your guard lest these *cursed* French should act falsely with you. Receive the assurances of my most tender attachment.

"FERDINAND."

I observed the Emperor while he read my translation. He appeared displeased with that part which related to the Empress, but, above all, indignant with the epithet *cursed French*. "*Are you quite sure that this is exactly the word?*" I read the original to him. "*Malditos.*" "*It is truly so; 'that word is almost Italian, maledetto,*" he replied. The original was taken back by the Emperor.

* This paragraph was not printed even in the copy which was published by the late Archbishop of Malines.

That letter, I think, was the pretext which made him put aside the proffered compensation of the kingdom of Etruria. The heart and hatred of Ferdinand were developed to Napoleon; and he could no longer reckon upon him. The Spanish ministers, moreover, had rejected with disdain the proposals for him to reign in Italy. It was no longer thought of. The arrival of King Charles changed the course of events.

King Charles and the Queen, placed under a kind of surveillance at Aranjuez, and unwilling to remove to Badajoz, the place particularly pointed out for their residence by Ferdinand, after the departure of that Prince, obtained permission from the regency, through the powerful support of the Grand-duke, to repair to the Escurial, which was occupied by a part of the French army. It was from that palace that they set out for France, with escorts provided by the Grand-duke.

CHAPTER VII.

Arrival of King Charles and the Queen of Spain at Bayonne —First interview between that sovereign and his son—Arrival of the Infant Don Antonio at Bayonne—Treaty concluded between the Emperor and King Charles—Respecting King Charles IV.—Respecting the Queen of Spain—Anecdote of the Duchess d' * * *—King Charles and his court set out for Fontainebleau—Departure of Ferdinand and the Infants from Bayonne to Valençay—Proclamation of the Infants to the Spanish people—Address prepared by the Duke of Infantado in the name of the grandees of Spain; it is not delivered—Transaction concerning it.

KING Charles and the Queen of Spain arrived at Bayonne on April 30th. The cortége which accompanied their Catholic Majesties did not include a great many persons of rank, but there were a considerable number of baggage waggons laden with precious stores. The carriages of the King, made upon the same models as those of the age of Louis XIV. which were employed by Philip V. on his entrance into

Spain, presented a singular contrast with the elegance and lightness of the French equipages. It was astonishing to observe how little progress had been made in the ornamental arts in a neighbouring nation. The same remark was applicable to all the usages, manners, and refinements of life. Would it be believed, for instance, that the etiquette of the court condemned four huge footmen in fine liveries, to remain standing and knocking one against the other behind the carriage of the king, from Madrid to Bayonne, exposed to the different temperatures, and to all the dust of the roads! These good kings travelled as though they were merely going to make a visit at a short distance from their palace. The following morning when the equipages of Napoleon attended on their Catholic Majesties, who had testified a desire to make the first visit to the Empress Josephine, the King, who was moreover suffering from an attack of gout, experienced the utmost difficulty possible in getting into our berlins, and using the modern double foot-steps, upon which he hesitated to trust himself, from being accustomed to the steps and the largeness of his coaches.

Napoleon descended to the door of the coach, and was obliged to wait some minutes in order

to give King Charles time to disengage himself from his sword, which annoyed him almost as much as his gout, and to overcome his fear of the foot-steps upon which he hesitated to trust himself. The King was the first to laugh at his own embarrassment. The Empress Josephine was in readiness to receive these noble personages, which she did with that grace and amiability which never deserted her. After the usual compliments the toilet was spoken of. The Empress offered the Queen to send Duplan, her head-dresser, to give her ladies a lesson in that important art, and the proposition was eagerly accepted. Their Majesties retired and returned to dinner. They brought with them the Prince of the Peace, who had not been invited. It was with difficulty I recognised the Queen in her new head-dress. The great talent of Duplan had miscarried; the Queen did not look handsomer, but merely changed.

The Emperor being informed that dinner was served, presented his hand to the Queen of Spain. I went immediately before, and I remarked that Napoleon walked more rapidly than usual, apparently without intending to do so; he perceived it himself, and said to the Queen; "Your Majesty perhaps finds that I

go on too quickly?" "Sire," replied the Queen, laughing, "it is your general custom." Was that a compliment? was it an indirect reproach? I am ignorant, for I could not turn back and read the eyes of the Queen and the expression of her countenance, which might have enlightened me on this reply of double meaning. Napoleon walked slower, and said, also laughing; "That his gallantry for the ladies always made it a point of duty with him to consult their tastes." The presence of the Prince of the Peace had embarrassed me. I had told the usher in attendance that the Prince was not upon the list, and desired him to inform him so with politeness, when he presented himself to enter the dining-hall. This was done accordingly. On taking his seat, King Charles observed the absence of his favourite; "And Manuel, Sire, and Godoi?" The Emperor turned towards me smiling, and gave me orders to admit Manuel. During dinner some discussion took place on the difference of the etiquette and habit of the two courts. King Charles spoke much of his passion for the chase, to which he partly attributed his gout and rheumatism. "Every day," said he, "whatever may be the weather, winter and summer, after breakfast and having heard mass, I hunt for an

hour, and I recommence immediately after dinner and pursue it till the close of the day. In the evening Manuel informs me whether affairs go well or ill, and I retire to rest to recommence the morrow in a similar way, that is, if some important ceremony does not compel me to desist." Since his accession to the throne this good king had reigned in no other manner.

The Infant Don Antonio, having no longer any functions to discharge at Madrid, soon arrived at Bayonne. The first words that he uttered on alighting in the palace-court were, "That it was impossible for him to have travelled with greater rapidity than he had done.' He was not aware that orders had been given on the road to hurry his journey — indeed, scarcely to allow him breathing time.

A treaty concluded between the Emperor and King Charles, transferred to Napoleon all his claims to the crown of Spain. Prince Ferdinand and the other infants concurred in this treaty, which terminated for the moment all existing difficulties.

It is wrong to imagine, that King Charles did not act with perfect freedom in this affair; in spite of the feelings of nature, that which had the most powerful influence upon his con-

duct, was a violent hatred of his son and his partisans. Nothing could prove more strongly that his abdication on the 19th of March had been compulsory. The resentful feelings which flow from the throne in such a case, leave deep impressions, that are never effaced. Besides kings are accustomed only to behold their posterity in their children and never to feel as fathers. A cold and ceremonious line of demarcation always separates a king from his heir, in whom he often sees nothing but a successor desirous of reigning. It was, therefore, with eagerness that Charles IV. made the sacrifice, which is by every one looked upon as the greatest. Hence Napoleon had nothing to wish for, nothing to demand. Charles, whose plain and retired habits had always estranged him from public affairs, even from the most simple details of the administration, loved no one but the Prince of the Peace. And by the most extraordinary perversion, his wife, his children, and his kingdom, were almost nothing to him. Godoi, who could not and would not himself re-enter Spain, instilled disgust into the mind of the King, whom the remembrance of the recent outrage he had suffered, but too much disposed to renounce for ever a country in which his favourite could not retain his ascendancy.

Thus finished the political life of Charles IV.* He was of a lofty stature, and a noble and firm deportment; the perfect harmony of his features indicated good nature and the habitual calm of his mind; and his appearance created an impression that his habits had been always pure. His only passions were friendship for Godoi, and an unlimited compliance with the wishes of the Queen. I really believe that his friendship for his favourite overwhelmed every other feeling. He sacrificed all to it without regret and without hesitation. He had lived a private life when on the throne, and he lost no enjoyment in resigning the monarchy of a portion of the two worlds to enter upon retirement. He found himself thrown into a station naturally adapted to his simple and unaspiring taste; and when his health, affected by continual attacks of gout or by age, no longer permitted him to partake of the pleasures of the chase, he supplied the deficiency by those of music, and in making happy the small circle of faithful subjects who were devoted to his person. Not only did he love to listen to the distinguished artists he employed, but he himself executed some

* Charles was born at Naples, May 21st, 1748, and ascended the throne of Spain, December 14th, 1788.

pieces of music far from indifferently. was, however, an amateur of a new class was told by one of my friends, who was timately acquainted with M. Boucher, his first violin player, that Charles IV. very often began a concerted piece alone, and on its being remarked by that celebrated performer, the King would gravely reply, that "he was not made to wait."

The Queen Maria Louisa, his wife, was born at Parma on the 9th of December, 1751. She was *petite*, and, at the time when I had the honour of seeing her, it was difficult to judge whether she had been pretty. Her eyes were bright and expressive; her features, altogether, more serious than pleasant, bespoke decision of character and talent; and her marked physiognomy indicated an habitual occupation of mind, which seemed to render her indifferent to the duties of her rank, when they were in opposition to her predominant idea. That species of *monomania* was, it is said, the business of all her life; it was remarked that intimate and private conversation was much more to her liking, than that life of perpetual show which is designated the court circle. It must not be imagined, however, that she was in-

different to the cares of the toilet. The preservative or restorative art formed an essential part of the concentration of her faculties. She had every thing in the first fashion from Paris, and that homage to French taste recalls to my remembrance an anecdote, which was related to me by several grandees of Spain.

The Duchess D'***, a young, handsome, sprightly widow, and immensely rich, had the misfortune, in consequence of some court intrigues, to lose the good graces of the Queen. Anger and hatred followed an open rupture. The beautiful Duchess for a long while confined the resentment she experienced to a noble defence; but at length the gaiety of her disposition frequently induced her to indulge in pleasantries which were not without danger to herself. Knowing that it was the habit of the Queen to receive almost all her dresses from Paris, she employed a faithful and adroit agent to procure for her, whatever might be the cost, the same fashions, the same stuffs, and the same jewels, which the tradespeople of the Queen had orders to forward to Madrid. The agent of the Duchess was upon the look-out, paid liberally, and was promptly served; and she despatched her trunks several days before the

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persons employed by the Queen were in a condition to start theirs. The Duchess, therefore, had nothing farther to do, than dress out her chambermaids, and direct them to exhibit themselves at all the public places, on the Prado, and at the theatre, &c. &c. in order to deprive the Queen of the gratification, so exquisite to a woman of pretension, of being the first to display, in all their freshness, those frivolous objects, to which vanity and coquetry attach but too high a price.

According to the ordinary progress of such foolish self-love, the empire of the graces and of love became a subject of most serious rivalry. The war was rendered the more animated, as the Duchess, young, handsome, and perfectly agreeable, obtained all the advantage and success she could desire. Twice did an unknown hand set fire to her palace, a building remarkable for its elegance and good taste, and in which were to be found assembled all who were distinguished for their rank, their wit, their birth, or their talents; they flocked to it with the more eagerness as they well knew that they should there find pleasure without restraint, society without etiquette, and all the enchanting magnificence which fêtes can present, without the slightest resemblance

to that uniform gravity which characterised the galas of the Court. The Duchess repaired the devastation created by the fire. When her palace was entirely rebuilt and embellished, for the third time, she gave a grand fête, which she terminated much earlier than usual. "Retire," said she, to her guests: "I will not again permit others to have the pleasure of burning my palace: I will take that trouble upon myself." In fact, she set fire to it with her own hand. Some time after, the young Duchess was seized with an illness, which the skill of the faculty could neither overcome nor check in its progress, and she died prematurely at nine-and-twenty or thirty years of age. Her palace was not repaired. On the 4th of December, when we entered Madrid as conquerors after its capitulation, we saw nothing but its wreck and ruins—sad monuments of an indiscreet and censurable struggle!!

King Charles, the Queen of Spain, and the Infant, Don Francisco, set out for Fontainebleau on the 10th of May. The suite appointed by the Emperor to accompany them, was composed of the same persons who had been placed about them during their stay at Bayonne; of General Count Reille, Aide-de-

camp to the Emperor; a Co[illegible] Chamberlain; and of the Count of [illegible] Master of the Horse to the Empress. On their arrival at Fontainebleau, their Majesties found Madame de la Rochefoucault, lady of honour; Madame de Luçay, tireing woman; Madame Duchâtel, lady of the palace; M. de Rémusat, first chamberlain; M. de Luçay, first prefect of the palace; M. de Caquerai, master of the hounds, and all the inferior attendants that could conduce to their comfort.

As for the Prince of Asturias, Don Carlos, his brother, and Don Antonio, his uncle, they set out for Valençay. Their journey was performed without noise, and without show. The only remarkable occurrence was the issuing of a proclamation, dated Bordeaux, May 12th, and addressed to the Spanish people. In it they confirmed, in the strongest manner, the transmission of the rights and sovereignty over Spain to the Emperor Napoleon; stipulated for the same reservations and conditions as are mentioned in the Act of Cession of King Charles, and expressed the same wishes for the welfare of the Spanish people. I am entirely ignorant of every thing relative to this last concession. On their arrival at Valençay, those august personages were received by the Prince of Benevento, the proprietor of that beautiful

château, and by M.M. D'Arberg and De Tournon, Chamberlains to the Emperor.

It is remarkable, that at the same time that Napoleon added Spain to his vast dominions, the Emperor Alexander took Finland from Sweden, which did not on that account make any opposition to Russia; for, without any provocation, Sweden some time afterwards formed an alliance with that power against France.

The occurrences which followed these abdications, renunciations, and cessions, do not require that I should bestow on them any minute attention. That which took place at the château of Marrac, on the 7th of June, the day of the arrival of King Joseph Napoleon, whom the Emperor had proclaimed King of Spain, alone merits a moment's attention.

Napoleon, anxious to introduce to his brother his new subjects, suddenly ordered an audience of presentation on the evening of his arrival. The deputations from the grandees of Spain, from the Council of Castile, from the Inquisition, from the Indies, from the treasury, and from the army, were directed to repair, in succession, to the château of Marrac, to pay their respects to their new sovereign. They had scarcely time to meet together, and to select

one from among themselves, who was to sustain the part of orator in their name. This over-hasty audience became stormy, because the address prepared by the Duke of Infantado, on the part of the grandees of Spain, did not convey a formal recognition of the new king. It was as follows, and has never been published in France, at least not to my knowledge. It was to be addressed to King Joseph :—

"Sire,

"The Grandees of Spain, who are at present in Bayonne, hasten to offer to your Majesty their respects, and wishes for your welfare. The great qualities which are the lot of your Majesty are above our eulogy, and speak for themselves. We are happy in being able to lay at the feet of your Majesty the homage of our devotion, in the presence of your august brother, the hero of our age. Behold, Sire, all that the laws which govern Spain permit us at this moment to offer to your Majesty. We await till the nation explains itself, and authorises us to give a greater latitude to our sentiments."

Signed. The Duke of Infantado, of Medina Cœli, the Marquis of Santa Cruz, the Duke of Osuna, Count Mayorga, the Count of Santa-Coloma, Count Fern-

and Nunez, the Duke of Montellano and of Arco, the Duke of Hijar, the Count of Aranda, the Count of Orgas, the Prince of Castel Franco.

This address avoided the recognition of Joseph, and was not delivered. That which I am about to insert was spoken by M. d'Azanza.

"We experience, Sire, a lively joy in presenting ourselves before your Majesty. Spain hopes every thing from your reign. The presence of your Majesty is most earnestly desired, above all to fix the minds, to conciliate the interests, and to establish order; so necessary to the Spanish nation. Sire, the Grandees of Spain have ever been celebrated for their fidelity to their sovereigns. Your Majesty will find in them the same constancy and the same devotion. Receive our homage with that goodness of which you have given so many proofs to your Neapolitan people, the fame of which has already reached us."

(The same signatures followed.)

Moniteur, June 7, 1808.

The details, as related by the late Archbishop of Malines, of the scene which occurred upon the form of the address of M. Del Infantado, are exact; but I do not at all concur with him

in opinion, when he attributed more rudeness and violence to Napoleon. He restrained himself, because that which he said was in itself sufficiently strong. "You are a gentleman, Sir," said he to the Duke of Infantado; "conduct yourself like one, and, instead of quarrelling upon the language of an oath, which it is your intenion to violate on the first opportunity, go, place yourself at the head of your party in Spain, and fight openly and honourably. I will provide you with a passport, and give you my word of honour the outposts of my army shall permit you to pass freely and without interruption. That is what would become a man of honour." The Duke mingled together protestations and assurances of fidelity. "You are to blame," replied the Emperor; "this is a more serious matter than you think. You will forget your oath, and place yourself in danger of being shot—perhaps within eight days from the present time."

CHAPTER VIII.

History of Ali-Bey, (Badia-Castillo).

I AM about to speak of a curious transaction which is but little known.

On the 11th of June, 1808, during our stay at Bayonne, the Emperor sent for me. I was sailing in a little boat in the harbour, with the intention of going as far as the sea, when the Count de Bondi, always kind and agreeable, dispatched a courier after me. I disembarked, and hastened promptly to the palace of Marrac, where I was introduced.

"I have been conversing," said the Emperor, "with a Spaniard, whom you might have seen in the hall, and I have not sufficient leisure to give an attentive hearing to his history, which moreover appears very long. See him, converse with him, pay attention to the manuscripts of which he spoke to me, and make me a report." With these words he dismissed me.

On returning to the hall in which the Emperor had alluded, I saw a man still young in his appearance and of a tall and elegant figure. He wore a uniform of royal-blue, without ornaments or epaulets, and a magnificent cimeter, mounted in the Oriental manner, was suspended at his side by a sash of green silk. His features were regular, and his whole air good, but rather severe. His fine black mustachios, and his large, bright and piercing eyes gave a peculiar expression to his countenance and look. His hair was black and thick. I approached him, and informed him that I was authorized by the Emperor to receive his communication. He answered courteously, and then his countenance expressed so much softness, and at the same time so much vivacity, that I felt disposed to give him every assistance which might lay within my power. I proposed that we should go into the garden of the palace, where we conversed a long while. I gave my name, and apologized for the awkward circumstances which obliged me to ask him his: "*Here*, and in Spain, I am called Don Badia Castillo y Leblich; but in the East, I am known by the name of Ali-Bey, Prince of the house of the Abbassides." He must have observed my astonishment, for he at once entered into

ample details of the principal events of his life. The precious and interesting travels which he published in three volumes in 1814, and followed by an atlas, consisting of a hundred plates, make it needless for me to relate every thing with which he made me acquainted. I shall confine myself to that secret and political part which is but little known. He died in Asia in 1819; I may here, therefore, without indiscretion, disclose his communications.

Badia Castillo y Leblich was born in Spain in 1767, and gave early proofs of the happiest talents; they were cultivated with care, and he acquired vast knowledge in the mathematics, in astronomy, in natural history, in physic, in chemistry, in drawing, and above all in the Oriental languages. He combined in himself all the qualities necessary to study and inquire into Nature, to observe the stars, to determine their position, to construct plans, and to delineate the different views he might meet with. Encouraged and protected by the Prince of the Peace, he repaired to London to perfect his studies. He allowed his beard to grow, was circumcised, dressed like the Arabs, composed an authentic genealogy proving his high extraction, and under the name of Ali-Bey, Prince of the Abbassides, a family celebrated by its nu-

merous caliphs, he landed in France, repaired to Paris, communicated to the Board of Longitude the scientific purposes of his voyage, took notes upon the geographical and maritime points of which the class of the superior sciences of the Institute desired to have precise elucidations. He traversed France and Spain, received at Madrid his last instructions, great assistance, letters of credit to a great amount, and letters of recommendation to all the consuls of Spain, of Africa, and of Asia, to whom his journey was announced as only connected with science and the progress of letters.

The true political end was to endeavour to work a revolution in the empire of Morocco, to overthrow the reigning Emperor, and to render that vast country a rich and beautiful Spanish colony; more important perhaps than those of America, since two hours only of navigation were necessary to reach it without danger. The idea was grand in itself.

Holland, France, England, and even Russia, already began to direct their attention to the continent of Africa, which contained in itself so much wealth. Its colonies, not less fertile than those of America, would have cost less time and blood to conquer them. There is reason to be astonished that the idea of their

conquest presented itself so late to the Spanish government, which would have found upon the shores of Barbary immense resources. All kinds of reasons ought to have made them prefer this clime to that of America: the great number of its inhabitants, the variety of its soil, its admirable situation for the commerce of the world, would have presented to policy, to philosophy, and even to religion, conquests worthy of the Spanish nation. The mines of Bambouk, joined to the abundant produce of the soil, ivory, gums, and slaves for the colonies, should have caused the coast of Africa to be looked upon as the most precious country which nature could have placed in the neighbourhood of Spain.

It is difficult to conceive how the Portuguese, the French, and the English, could fight so long for the coast of Senegal, where a scorching climate destroys all those who have the unfortunate courage to seek their fortunes there, whilst they had a source of wealth so much nearer to them, and which might have been invaded with so much facility.

The King of Spain is the only sovereign of Europe who possesses on this coast some purely military establishments, situated, however, in

the poorest and most thinly inhabited part of Barbary.

All these important considerations at length struck the Spanish government, and Badia Castillo, under the name of Ali-Bey, was sent to Morocco in 1802, to watch, prepare, and dispose all things, with the view of grasping that vast empire either by force or by address. The outset of his expedition was fortunate. He even attained the highest degree of favour with the Emperor, and the great personages of the state. This first success encouraged the Prince of the Peace, who himself composed the Spanish government, and he permitted Ali-Bey to direct all the plans, and to combine all the means to begin the great revolution. The empire of Morocco contains five millions of Moors, who are so many slaves without any property, because the whole of the territory forms the patrimony of the Emperor. All the world knows further, that the throne belongs to a sovereign who has no other right to it than that of force and violence. That sovereign, entirely despicable as he is, sees his treasures increased annually by the shameful tribute with which the powers of Europe present him, in order to obtain permission to trade with his subjects, and to secure the humiliating protection which he

grants to the vessels they employ;—scandalous servitude, which in itself would constitute a right to attempt the invasion of a neighbour so imperiously overbearing. To these considerations Ali-Bey added, that the free tribes of Mount Atlas, neighbours to the empire of Morocco, had always their arms in their hands to defend themselves against the Emperor, and to maintain their independence; that that state of perpetual warfare had rendered it impossible for them to carry on any commerce with Europe; and that they would join with transport those who should attack the tyrant, and become their faithful allies.

But the most important consideration, was the weakness of the military resources of the Emperor of Morocco. From six to eight thousand black men formed his guard, and alone sufficed to oppress the unhappy inhabitants of his kingdom. Ali-Bey was satisfied that the discontent of the principal inhabitants was at its height, and that they wished with all their hearts for a just and enlightened government; that the tribes of Mount Atlas, who had formerly been derived from the richest provinces of the empire, which they had never known how to preserve, would feel their courage rekindle if they should be seconded by Spain

which was more interested than any other power in establishing its domination.

It was on these grounds, that Ali-Bey hoped for the success of the expedition; and his acquaintance with the principal chiefs of the government, and even with the guard of the King of Morocco, made him regard his project as certain of success if it were but attempted.

But the affair was suddenly terminated. It was not proceeded in. I suppose that the Prince of the Peace, on reflecting a little more, felt that he had gone on too fast. The system generally adopted by the European powers would have considered so important an increase of power and of riches as a real infringement on the political balance. That which would have appeared harmless enough on the part of a body of adventurers, assumed a very different complexion when seen as an attempt emanating from such a government as that of Spain. Moreover, the accession of Napoleon to the imperial crown, which had been tendered him by the senate, necessarily excited fears and reflections, and damped the enthusiasm which had given birth to the project of creating a great colony. The issue, moreover, was at least doubtful, in consequence of the weakness of the means pointed out.

Censure is doubly deserved when a triumphant success does not colour to a certain point, an enterprise distinguished by its temerity. It appeared natural to the Prince of the Peace to impute his own errors and precipitancy to Ali Bey. Perhaps, too, the sudden interruption of this seductive dream ought to be attributed to the discussions which occurred between England and Spain, and which finished before the end of the year by a declaration of war between the two powers.

I know positively, that Ali Bey assured me that the embarrassment into which the hesitation of the Cabinet of Madrid threw him, and the continual delays it made in sending him the men and necessaries he wanted, compelled him to renounce the extraordinary experiment; and then, in accordance with the instruction he had received, he determined on a scientific voyage into the East.

On his return, Ali Bey re-assumed his former name, attached himself to the fortune of King Joseph, and was made prefect of Cordova. At the second abdication of that prince, he went to Paris, to superintend the printing of his travels, the first part of which was printed at the expense of the Imperial Government. The work was completed during the reign of Louis

XVIII., and dedicated to that monarch. Ali Bey's passion for the East, drew him, unhappily, into Asia, where he had deposited the most interesting objects of art and science. His death, which took place in 1819, was attributed to the Pacha of Damascus or Aleppo; and the publicity of his journey renders probable all the conjectures which were made at that period.

CHAPTER IX.

Interview of Erfurt.—Personages who were present.

I AM about to copy part of a narrative of the celebrated interview of Erfurt, which I was ordered to compose.

Their Imperial Majesties of France and Russia, being desirous of making firmer the ties of friendship which they entered into at Tilsit, agreed that they should again meet on the 27th of September, 1808, in the French town of Erfurt.

In consequence of that decision, the Emperor was visited by the Emperor of Russia, and the principal sovereigns of the Confederation of the Rhine, who had been invited to assemble in the town.

This relation has not for its object an endeavour to raise the sacred veil of politics; it is merely intended as a record of the details, even the most minute, of the ceremonies and eti-

quette which were observed at that memorable meeting.

In accordance with the orders of the Emperor, every precaution had been taken to give to that great event all the solemnity and all the magnificence with which it could be surrounded.

The Duke of Frioul, grand-marshal of the palace, dispatched M. de Canouvile, marshal of the chambers of the palace, and two harbingers, to Erfurt, with the necessary instructions to prepare apartments for their Majesties and the other sovereigns.

I was also sent in advance to prepare for the attendance of the grand-marshal.

The government palace was fixed upon as the abode of the Emperor, it being the most extensive, and the most suitable, as his Majesty had announced his intention of holding his court.

The hotel of M. Triebel, a new and elegant house, was destined to become the palace of the Emperor Alexander; and that of the senator Remann was reserved for the Grand-duke Constantine.

Suitable houses were also provided for the princes of the Confederation of the Rhine, and a detachment from all the different attendants in

the household of the Emperor, was appointed to each of these palaces.

The ministers, the officers of the Emperor Alexander's suite, and those of the Emperor's suite, were lodged in the neighbourhood of their respective sovereigns.

The wardrobe of the crown was sent from Paris, together with beds, hangings of tapestry, bronzes, lustres, porcelain, and every thing which could contribute to the embellishment of the two imperial palaces, &c. &c.

The major-general appointed the first regiment of hussars, the sixteenth of cuirassiers, and the seventeenth of light infantry, to form the garrison of the town of Erfurt.

A battalion of the finest grenadiers of the Imperial Guard, and twenty picked *gens-d'armes* were sent to perform duty at the palaces of their Imperial Majesties.

Napoleon, on receiving the Emperor Alexander in a frontier town of his own dominions, was desirous of availing himself of that favourable opportunity to afford pleasure to his imperial guest, by a representation of the master-pieces of the French drama. Consequently the theatre was repaired, and his Majesty's company of comedians from the Theatre-Français were despatched, and arrived at Er-

furt before their Majesties. They consisted of MM. Saint-Prix, Talma, Damas, Lafond, Després, La Cave, Varennes; Mesdames Raucourt, Duchesnois, Talma, Bourgouing, Rose Dupuis, Gros, and Patrat.

M. Dazincourt was appointed manager.

The Emperor had assigned to his Excellency the Marshal-Duke of Montebello, the honourable mission of going to receive the Emperor of Russia at the frontiers of the Confederation of the Rhine. The Marshal repaired in consequence to Bromberg on the banks of the Vistula.

General Oudinot, now Marshal and Duke of Reggio, was appointed Governor of Erfurt.

The King of Saxony was the first who arrived at Erfurt. His suite consisted of the Count of Boze, the Count of Marcolini, and the Count of Haag, his aid-de-camp. His Majesty was received in the palace, which had been prepared for him, by the officers of the Emperor, who had been sent in advance.

I will not speak of the honours which were paid to Napoleon, from his quitting St. Cloud to his arrival at Erfurt, which he reached on the morning of the 27th of September, because in doing so I should tell nothing that is not already well known.

The Emperor Alexander set out from St. Petersburgh on the 14th of September, and on the 18th he had an interview with the King and Queen of Prussia, who received him at Konigsberg. He was received at Bromberg by the Duke of Montebello, and his arrival in that town was announced by a salute of twenty-one cannons. Scarcely had he descended from his carriage, when he mounted his horse, accompanied by the Duke of Montebello and Marshal the Duke of Dalmatia, and proceeded to view the division of General Nansouty. It was composed of four regiments of cuirassiers, and two of carabineers, and was drawn up in the finest order of battle. His Majesty was received with a salute of twenty-one cannons, fired by the light artillery. The Emperor Alexander surveyed the ranks with the greatest attention, and signs of admiration more than once escaped from him. By every regiment he was received with repeated cries of "Long live the Emperor Alexander!" And these acclamations became general when the division filed off before him in squadrons. When he returned to his palace, he condescended to receive the superior officers, who were presented to him by the General-of-division, Saint-Germain. After

having repeated his praises, Alexander said, "he felt it an honour to be among so many brave men and such excellent soldiers."

His Majesty deigned to admit the generals and colonels of division to his table. On entering his carriage, he placed the Duke of Montebello on his right; and the Marshal recounted with the greatest sensibility all the marked kindnesses which his Majesty had heaped upon him during the journey. The Emperor travels habitually in a calash with two seats. When he perceived that the motion of the carriage had displaced the cloak of the Marshal, who was sometimes overcome by sleep when he had to travel all night, his Majesty took the trouble of drawing it on again.

Marshal Soult, the staff-major, the generals, and superior officers of the Nansouty division, escorted his Majesty upon the road to Frankfort-upon-the-Oder. He arrived at Weimar on the evening of the 26th, having passed through Leipsic without stopping. Relays of horses had been prepared on his route, both for himself and suite, with directions not to receive any payment.

Marshal Soult, in accordance with the orders of the Emperor, had posted escorts of light cavalry and of dragoons at each post the

Emperor Alexander had to pass in the country occupied by the French army, and wherever there were any bodies of soldiers they were formed into line, and received him with full military honours.

Napoleon, on his arrival at Erfurt, on the morning of the 27th, was welcomed with the most lively acclamations. On reaching his palace, he found the King of Saxony in attendance at the foot of the staircase. I ought to remark here, both with respect to the King of Saxony and the other sovereigns who came to Erfurt, that none of them received any military honours either on their entering or departing from that city.

The Emperor, after having received the government of the States and the municipality of Erfurt, mounted his horse to visit the King of Saxony; and on parting from that sovereign, he left the city by the gate of Weimar. At a little distance the grenadiers of the guards, commanded by M. d'Arguies, were drawn up, together with the seventeenth regiment of infantry, commanded by M. de Cabannes-Puymisson; the first hussars, commanded by M. de Juniac, and Colonel d'Haugeranville, at the head of the sixteenth cuirassiers. After having inspected the ranks of the different corps, he

formed the infantry into closer line, and deployed the cavalry somewhat in advance on the road to Wiemar, and set forth to meet the Emperor Alexander.

At about a league and a half from the city, the two sovereigns encountered each other.

As soon as the Emperor Alexander perceived Napoleon, he descended from his carriage; the Emperor also alighted, and the two sovereigns cordially embraced each other. Their Majesties then mounted on horseback, as did the Grand-duke Constantine, and rode at a gallop past the troops, who presented arms. The drums beat the salute; and numberless vollies of artillery mingled with the sounds of bells, and the acclamations of an immense multitude, which so remarkable an event had collected from all parts. The Emperor Alexander wore the grand decoration of the Legion of Honour, and the Emperor that of St. Andrew of Russia; this reciprocal deference was maintained throughout the meeting.

Napoleon, being in his own dominions, constantly placed the Emperor of Russia on his right hand.

The two Emperors alighted at the Russian palace, and continued an hour together.

At half-past three, the Emperor Alexander

visited Napoleon, who descended to the foot of the staircase to receive him; and when Alexander retired, he conducted him as far as the door of the attendance-hall. The guard, forming in line, presented arms, and the drums beat the salute.

At six o'clock the Emperor of Russia came to dine with his Majesty, and continued to do so every day during his stay at Erfurt.

As to the precedence of the other sovereigns, with respect to one another, their rank was established according to the period of their adherence to the Confederation of the Rhine.

The King of Saxony and the Grand-duke Constantine dined with their Majesties.

At nine in the evening, Napoleon accompanied the Emperor of Russia to his palace, and the two sovereigns remained together for an hour and a half.

The Emperor Alexander accompanied Napoleon to the head of the staircase.

All the city was illuminated.

The Princes of Weimar and of Reuss, and the Princess of Tour and Taxis, arrived in the evening.

That evening, by invitation of his Majesty, the Emperor Alexander gave the Grand-marshal the watchword for the night; and

during the remainder of the meeting the two sovereigns gave it alternately.

The 28th.

According to established custom, the levee of the Emperor was held at nine o'clock. The officers of the household of the Emperor Alexander had the honour of being presented to his Majesty; and the *grandes entrées* were granted to them for the remainder of the conference. Their Majesties were reciprocally waited upon by their officers. Those of the French court had the honour of being presented to the Emperor Alexander.

General Oudinot, now Marshal-duke of Reggio, and the generals and colonels of the garrison, had the same honour. The Emperors always breakfasted at their own palaces, mutually visited each other during the morning, and remained several hours closeted together.

The Emperor Alexander arrived at the palace at six o'clock. The King of Saxony and the Grand-duke of Weimar dined with their Majesties and the Grand-duke Constantine. They went afterwards to the theatre, where the tragedy of *Cinna* was performed.

After the play their Majesties repaired to

the Russian palace, and continued together until midnight.

September 29.

The King of Saxony, the Prince of Mecklenbourg-Schwerin, the Prince of Neufchâtel, and the Count of Romanzoff, dined with their Majesties; and then went in the same coach to the theatre to see "Andrömache" played. The Emperor of Russia and all the illustrious strangers who attended the theatre, seemed to admire more and more the master-pieces of the French stage, and highly to appreciate the admirable talent of Talma and the other actors.

At the representation of "Cinna," their Majesties' box was situated in the centre of the first circle fronting the stage. Napoleon thought he perceived that, at that distance, the Emperor Alexander did not understand the performance very well in consequence of a defect in his hearing; and, by orders given to Count Rémusat, his first Chamberlain and Superintendent of the Theatre Français, a platform was raised upon the place usually occupied by the orchestra. Two arm-chairs were placed in the centre for the Emperors, and ornamented chairs on the right and left for the King of Saxony and the other sovereigns. The

box, no longer occupied by their Majesties, was reserved for the princesses, &c. &c.

September 30.

After dinner their Majesties went to the theatre, where "Britannicus" was represented. They afterwards retired to the Russian palace.

Prince William of Prussia, Duke William of Bavaria, Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, and M. de Vincent, the Austrian Ambassador, arrived to-day.

October 1.

All the Princes of the Confederation who continued at Erfurt, were admitted to the levee of his Majesty, and every one in his turn was invited to their Majesties' table.

A grand parade was to have taken place to-day, but the weather would not admit of it. Baron Vincent had an audience with the Emperor, which lasted four hours and a half.

Marshal Duke of Montebello had the honour of dining with their Majesties. "Zaire" was the performance at the theatre.

October 2.

During breakfast, his Majesty received M. von Goethe, the author of "Werter," and other works celebrated in Germany and in France. He conversed with him for a long while.

After dinner their Majesties visited the theatre and saw "Mithridates" played.

October 3.

Their Majesties mounted their horses at three o'clock in the morning, and went to review the first regiment of hussars. In the evening "Œdipus" was played in their presence.

As I have before said, the situation occupied by their Majesties was that formerly allotted to the musicians, who were removed to the side wing. The seats of the two Emperors were raised above the level of the pit about a foot; and those for the kings and sovereigns were placed a little lower, and to the right and left of the Emperors. The line of demarcation which commonly separates the orchestra from the pit, no longer existed. The first row of the pit was occupied by the attendants on their Majesties, and all the others were devoted to the princes, nobles, and the most considerable personages. I am desirous of making these localities known, and of showing clearly that the two Emperors were really seen, and that they could not make a single motion or a single gesture without its being perceived. In the first scene of *Œdipus*, Philoctetes says to Dimas, his friend and confidant,—

"A great man's friendship is a gift of the god's!"

At that verse, become for ever celebrated, we saw the Emperor Alexander turn towards Napoleon, and present to him his hand, with all the grace possible, and an expression which seemed to say—" I count upon yours." All the spectators made the same flattering application; on which we saw Napoleon bow, with an air of refusing to take to himself so embarrassing a compliment. I was eager to know what actually had been said; at the evening audience, I approached Prince Talleyrand, and asked him if he had remarked what had passed during the first scene of *Œdipus*. " I observed it so much," said the Prince, " that I am come to ask the Emperor to have the goodness to inform me, how, and in what terms the application of that verse had been made to him by the Emperor Alexander." M. de Talleyrand remained with the Emperor, and I waited until he retired, when he had the goodness not to leave me in any doubt upon the interpretation, which I had given to that expression of the sentiments of the Emperor Alexander.

The King of Wurtemburg arrived during the play.

October 4.

His Majesty transacted business with his mi-

nisters, and then received the government of the low country of Erfurt.

The King of Wurtemberg arrived at noon, to visit his Majesty, who advanced to receive him as far as the attendance-hall, and afterwards re-conducted him to the door of entrance of the second chamber.

To-day his Majesty sent a snuff-box, set with diamonds, to M. de Marshall, minister from the Duchy of Nassau, as a testimony of the gratification he had experienced on learning the promptitude with which the Duke of Nassau had put his quota of troops upon the march, as well as at the fine condition in which they were.

The Emperor bestowed the grand cordon of the legion of honour on the Count of Romanzoff, the Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs.

The Duke of Montebello and M. de Champagny, the Foreign Minister, were authorized by the Emperor to accept and to wear the grand cordon of St. Andrew of Russia.

At four o'clock the Emperors mounted on horseback, and reviewed the seventeenth regiment of light infantry, which performed a variety of manœuvres.

The King of Wurtemberg, the King of

Saxony, &c., dined with their Majesties. In order not to repeat the same thing continually, let it be said once for all, that the Kings and Sovereign Princes dined every day with the two Emperors.

"*Iphigenia in Aulis*" was performed.

The Emperor, pleased with the fine order of the first regiment of hussars, which he had reviewed on the 3rd, made different promotions, granting some promotion, and some the legion of honour. M. de Juniac, Colonel of the regiment, was made knight of the iron crown.

October 5.

The King of Bavaria and the Prince Primate arrived in the morning, and paid a visit to the Emperor, as did also the King and Queen of Westphalia.

His Majesty received them with the same ceremony as he had observed towards the King of Saxony, and a few hours afterwards returned their visit.

"Phædra" was represented.

The evening terminated as usual at the Russian palace, where the Emperors remained alone for two hours.

October 6.

Their Majesties having accepted an invita-

tion given them by the reigning Duke of Weimar, they set out in the same carriage at noon.

In an hour they arrived at the forest of Ettersburg, where the Grand-duke of Weimar had had a hunting pavilion constructed; it was elegantly decorated and divided by columns into three parts; the centre one was more elevated than the others, and was reserved for the Emperors.

The arrival of the two Monarchs was announced by the acclamations of an immense multitude and by a flourish of trumpets from orchestras which were placed near the pavilion.

The Duke of Weimar and the hereditary Prince his son, received their Majesties, on their descent from their carriage. On entering the hall, they found the King of Bavaria, the King of Wurtemberg, the King of Saxony, the Prince Primate, the Duke of Oldenburg, Prince William of Prussia, and the Princes of Mecklenburg, who had arrived separately.

Their Majesties were accompanied by the Grand-duke Constantine; the Prince of Neufchâtel; the Prince of Benevento; the Count of Tolstoy, Grand-marshal of Russia; the Duke of Frioul, Grand-marshal of the palace; the

Dukes of Vicenza and of Rovigo; General Lauriston, aide-de-camp to his Majesty; Count Oggeroski, aide-de-camp general to the Emperor Alexander: General Nansouty, first master of the horse to his Majesty; M. Eugene de Montesquiou, Chamberlain; M. Cavaletti, master of the horse to his Majesty; and myself.

Their Majesties, after having taken some refreshments which were presented to them by the Duke of Weimar, amused themselves with firing from their pavilion for nearly two hours at some stags and roebucks which were obliged to pass at some paces from them.

The Emperor of Russia, in consequence of the weakness of his sight, had never liked the amusements of the chase. This day he felt a desire to shoot; the Duke of Montebello had the honour of presenting him with a gun, and M. de Beauterne the honour of giving him the first lesson.

The first shot which the Emperor Alexander fired, struck down a stag of a fine size: it is right to say that the animal passed him at eight paces.

In the course of the two hours there were fifty-seven stags and roebucks killed. Their Majesties then went to the palace of Weimar, where they were received on alighting from

their carriage by the reigning Duchess, attended by her whole court.

Their Majesties, after an hour of repose in their apartments, repaired to the saloon of the Duchess of Weimar, where the Queen of Westphalia had already arrived.

At the table of their Majesties were admitted:—

The Queen of Westphalia, the Duchess of Weimar, the King of Bavaria, the King of Saxony, the Grand-duke Constantine, the Prince Primate, Prince William of Prussia, the Duke of Oldenburg, the Prince of Mecklenburg Schwerin, the Duke of Weimar, the hereditary Prince of Weimar, the Prince of Neufchâtel, Prince Talleyrand.

The Grand-duke of Weimar had had the complaisance to ask Grand-marshal, the Duke of Frioul what was most agreeable to the taste of the Emperor, but his Majesty preferred the German dinner of the Duke of Weimar.

After dinner their Majesties went to the theatre, passing through a double line formed by the guards of the Duke of Weimar, and the guard of the city.

The play was "The Death of Cæsar," which was performed by his Majesty's company of

comedians, who had received instructions to repair to Weimar for the occasion.

After the performance, their Majesties returned to the palace of the Duke, and the evening terminated with a ball, which was opened by the Emperor Alexander and the Queen of Westphalia. The assembly was not, properly speaking, a dancing one; it was a promenade, two and two, while the orchestra played a Polish march. The Emperor Alexander never dances; and such a reserve is commendable in a sovereign.

During the ball, Napoleon conversed for a length of time with two men justly celebrated for their literary talents throughout Germany, M. Wieland and M. von Goethe. Their Majesties retired to their apartments at midnight.

October 7.

After their levee, their Majesties paid a visit to the Duchess of Weimar. The Emperor Napoleon entertained the highest respect for that princess, who was distinguished by many virtues and estimable qualities; this feeling dated from the campaign of 1806. After the battle of Jena, the French army entered in full force into Weimar, and that city would have been pillaged, as well as the palace, but for the noble conduct of that Princess, who ap-

pealed to the heart and to the generosity of the conqueror. The Emperor was so affected with what the Princess then said, that from that moment he never ceased to bestow on her marks of real respect.

The Emperors entered their carriage at half-past nine to go to Mount Napoleon, near Jena. They breakfasted under a tent which the Duke of Weimar had had erected upon the very spot where the Emperor had bivouacked the night before that celebrated battle.

A pavilion of a thousand square feet, and decorated with plans of the battle of Jena, was erected upon the *Windknollen*, the highest point of Mount Napoleon.

It was under this pavilion that their Majesties received a deputation from the city and university of Jena. The Emperor Napoleon entered into particular details with the deputies upon the situation of the city and the Catholic church; and he was desirous of taking upon himself the reparation of all the damages which had been caused by the conflagration, and the long establishment of a military hospital there. He promised to endow, in perpetuity, the Catholic benefice of the city; he gave 300,000 francs to accomplish these different objects, and distributed large gratuities to the inhabitants of

Jena, in consideration of the losses they had suffered during the war.

Their Majesties then mounted on horseback, and examined successively all the positions which the armies had occupied on the eve and the day of the battle of Jena, and afterwards went to the Plain of Aspolda, where the Duke of Weimar had prepared a very extensive enclosure for shooting.

The Emperors returned to Erfurt in their carriage at about five o'clock in the afternoon. Their Majesties' dinner-table formed half an oval, the Emperors occupying the centre, and the other sovereigns sitting on their right and left, according to their rank; but no one ever sat on the side opposite; I stood there in front of the illustrious guests, and could hear every thing that they said.

Upon this occasion the conversation turned upon the Golden Bull, which, until the establishment of the Confederation of the Rhine, had served for the constitution and the regulation of the election of the Emperors, the number and rank of the electors, &c. The Prince Primate entered into some particulars respecting this Golden Bull, which, he said, was issued in 1409. Napoleon observed that the date which he assigned to its promulgation was not correct,

and that it was proclaimed in 1336, in the reign of the Emperor Charles IV. "It is true, Sire, replied the Prince Primate; I was mistaken; but how comes it that your Majesty is so well acquainted with such subjects?" "When I was only sub-lieutenant of artillery," said Napoleon,—which commencement excited an expression of strong interest on the part of his august guests—"when I had the honour of being merely a sub-lieutenant of artillery," continued he, smiling, "I remained three years in garrison at Valence. I had little liking for the world, and lived retired. A fortunate chance brought me in contact with a well-informed and extremely complaisant bookseller. I read and re-read his library through in the course of the three years, and I have forgotten nothing, even of those subjects which had no bearing upon my station. Nature moreover has gifted me with a memory of figures. It very often happens that while with my ministers, I recapitulate to them, in detail, the whole figures of their oldest accounts."

There was a well-placed pride in thus speaking of himself in presence of Europe, represented, to use the expression, at this banquet of kings.

The hereditary Grand-duke of Baden and the Princess Stephania, his consort, arrived at Erfurt in the evening.

There was no performance at the theatre this evening, the actors having scarcely had time to return from Weimar.

October 8.

The Prince and Princess of Baden made the customary visit.

His Majesty had the goodness to authorize me to accept and wear the grand decoration of the royal civil Order of Merit, with which his Majesty the King of Wurtemberg had deigned to honour me.

Their Majesties went on horseback at four o'clock, to view the citadel and fortifications of Erfurt.

As they were passing through the dining-room, the Emperor Alexander wishing to take off his sword, perceived that he had forgotten it and left it at his palace. Napoleon disengaged his, and presenting it to Alexander with all the grace possible, entreated him to accept it. The Emperor of Russia received it earnestly, and as I preceded them, I heard him say these words: "I accept it is a mark of your friendship: your Majesty is well assured that I shall never draw it against you!!!"

The Emperor made many promotions in the sixteenth regiment of cuirassiers.

" Rodogune" was performed.

The Duchess of Hisburghausen arrived this evening. Prince William of Prussia took leave of their Majesties.

As usual, the evening terminated at the Russian palace.

October 9.

Their Majesties continued alone in their palaces until three o'clock, when they mounted on horseback, and went to see the sixteenth regiment of cuirassiers manœuvre. The Emperor Alexander openly expressed his satisfaction at the quickness and the precision of the evolutions.

After dinner, the King and Queen of Westphalia, and the Prince Primate took leave of their Majesties to return to their dominions.

The tragedy of " Mahomet" was represented.

The evening was concluded at the Russian palace. The private conversation of their Majesties lasted three hours.

October 10.

M. de Bigi, military commandant of Erfurt, was decorated with the cross of the legion of honour.

"Rhadamistus" was performed at the theatre, and the evening concluded as usual.

October 11.

The hereditary prince of Hesse Homburg and the Prince of Waldeck, arrived at Erfurt. At four o'clock their Majesties made a tour of the city on horseback, and then returned to Napoleon's palace. The Emperor Alexander, wishing to amend some disorder in his dress, went into the private apartments, on the invitation of Napoleon, and was attended upon by his valet-de-chambre. The Emperor Alexander having examined with attention and admired the various articles which composed two beautiful gilt travelling services used by the Emperor, his Majesty hastened to send them the same evening to the palace of the Emperor of Russia. The two services were new, and of costly workmanship.

The comedians had the honour of performing the "Cid" before their Majesties, who separated an hour after midnight.

October 12.

By a decree his Majesty bestowed the cross of the legion of honour upon M. von Goethe, Privy Counsellor to the Duke of Weimar; also on Wieland, Starlk, the chief physician of Jena; and Wagel, burgomaster of Jena.

" Manlius" was performed. The meeting at the Russian palace was prolonged until three quarters of an hour after midnight.

October 13.

Professor Erhard of Leipsick, had the honour of being admitted to his Majesty, and of presenting him with a German version of the Code Napoleon.

Immediately afterwards his Majesty received in his cabinet the credentials of General Count of Tolstoy, the Russian Ambassador, who was recalled from that office to serve with the army.

Three of his Majesty's carriages, each drawn by six horses, had attended the Ambassador from his hotel, and afterwards conveyed him thither. The Count of Remusat, the first Chamberlain, discharged the functions of grand-master of the ceremonies on the occasion. The Ambassador was presented to his Majesty by Prince Talleyrand, Vice-grand-elector, performing the duties of Arch-chancellor of the empire. At the conclusion of the audience, the Count of Tolstoy received the grand decoration of the legion of honour.

To-day orders were given for the approaching departure of their Majesties.

Rich and magnificent presents were distributed on the part of both the Emperors, to the

ministers, great officers, and officers of their suite.

The Emperor of Russia, in testimony of his satisfaction, sent very handsome presents to all of his Majesty's comedians, and to M. Dazincourt the manager.

The Emperor sent the dean of Meimung, who had twice officiated as almoner at the palace, a ring with his initials set in diamonds, and fifty gold Napoleons to each of the ecclesiastics who had assisted.

The Emperor Alexander presented the Duke of Vicenza with the grand order of St. Andrew, and the Princes of Neufchatel and Benevento, with the star of that order in diamonds.

The hereditary Prince of Hesse-Homburg obtained permission of the Emperor to enter the Austrian service.

The Emperor made Count Tolstoy, grand marshal of Prussia, a present of the fine Gobelin hangings and the Sevres porcelain, which had been sent to Erfurt by the yeoman of the wardrobe.

Bajazet was the last tragedy performed before their Majesties, who then retired to the Russian palace, where they remained together until one in the morning.

October 14.

After his levee, the Emperor granted an audience to the Baron de Vincent, envoy from Austria, and gave him a letter in reply to that from the Emperor of Austria.

At eleven o'clock, the Emperor Alexander visited the Emperor, who received him and attended him on his leaving, with all the ceremonies which had been previously observed.

On the Grand-duke Constantine taking his leave, Napoleon presented him with a sword of which the handle was gold and of admirable workmanship. That valiant Prince, who had never ceased during his stay at Erfurt to honour me with his favour, embraced me, saying, "That he was not so powerful as his brother, and that he was dispensed from making presents; but that if I should ever visit Russia, he would treat me well and provide me good entertainment." These kind words were of more value to me than the richest present. Most certainly, if in our fatal retreat from Moscow, I had had the misfortune to be made prisoner, I should not have hesitated to reclaim the promise of the Grand-duke Constantine, and as certainly I should have had once more to praise his goodness. I had the honour of again seeing him

in 1814, at the time of the Congress at Vienna, and he readily renewed his offer.

The Emperor went to the Russian palace with all his court. The two sovereigns, entering a carriage, repaired to the spot on the road to Weimar, where they met at the commencement of the conference; and having embraced, and given each other testimonies of the feelings which united them, they separated.

The Emperor Alexander pursued the route to Weimar, where he spent two days, and then returned to his dominions. The Prince of Vicenza was charged with the honourable mission of accompanying him; and the same honours which had been paid him on his arrival, were equally observed as far as the frontiers of Poland.'

The 14th was one of the anniversaries of the battle of Jena. Napoleon set out the same day, travelled incognito, and arrived at St. Cloud at half-past nine in the evening of the 18th of October.

The two great potentates who met at Erfurt, and partitioned Europe between them, never again met but in opposition, the one fighting against the other. Both of them are dead; the one upon the homicidal rock of St. Helena, and the other upon the arid shores of the sea of Azof!

CHAPTER X.

Departure of Napoleon for Spain.—His arrival at Vittoria.—Battle before Burgos.—Taking of that city.—Stay at Aranda de Duero.—The Emperor arrives before Madrid on Dec. 2nd.—Attack on the Retiro, on the 3rd.—Capitulation of Madrid on the 4th.—Obstinate defence of the Body-guard in the Barracks.—Order to inspect the Royal Palace of Madrid.—The Marquis of Saint Simon, Grandee of Spain, condemned to death and pardoned.—Napoleon visits Madrid and the Royal Palace incognito.—The Fandango.—First indications of a War against Austria.—An Audience granted to the Monks of the different orders at Valladolid.

Oct. 18, 1808.

SCARCELY had we arrived from Erfurt when we were occupied with preparations for a journey to Madrid. This time the preparations were military, and there was no mention of the Empress Josephine, who remained at Paris. Napoleon set out on the 29th, and arrived at Bayonne on the 3rd of November. The persons appointed followed as they could. Count Philip Segur

and I, each in our calash, travelled as far as Bayonne. I was suffering greatly from the gout in one of my feet, and I eased it with an opium liniment.

Napoleon stopped but a few days at Bayonne; on the 7th of November he arrived at Vittoria, in the centre of his army. He found his brother there, and some faithful Spaniards, who had not abandoned him. The decisive victory which General Bessières, Duke of Istria, had gained at Medina-del-Rio-Seco, over the army of Estremadura, commanded by the Captain-general Cuesta (a victory which in a great measure was to be attributed to the brilliant courage and the bold plans of General d'Armagnac,) had enabled the French army to establish itself successfully at Vittoria, to await there the reinforcements which the capitulation of Baylen rendered necessary.

The army was put in motion and overwhelmed the enemy, who had the imprudence to remain before Burgos. That city was ill-treated, because we entered it in full force, in pursuit of the enemy; it was even delivered up to pillage for several hours, in consequence of the inhabitants firing some muskets from the windows upon Marshal Bessières. An immense number of packs of wool were found

in Burgos, which were publicly sold at Bayonne.*

It was at Burgos on the 12th of November, that Napoleon issued a decree, which placed without the pale of the law, and ordered the

* I never saw a more strange and fantastical sight than the bivouac-fire of the grenadiers of the imperial guard presented in the grand square of the Archbishopric, where the Emperor lodged. A bright and brilliant flame, fed with guitars, mandolins, etc., had boiling on one side immense kettles, which had been taken from the convents, and in which were heaps of game, poultry, and butcher's meat; and on the other, enormous legs of mutton were roasting, suspended from batons by cords. The soldiers, seated upon large gilt chairs, covered with crimson damask, gaily smoked their pipes, and occupied themselves with turning the legs of mutton, and carefully skimming the kettles, while they conversed on the events of the war.

The sacking of Burgos was accompanied with excesses of a more serious kind. The woman-servant of a convent had the unhappiness to fall into the hands of twenty soldiers, all of whom were smitten with a passion for her fresh and plump appearance. When conversing with her, for I had received orders to try to collect from her such information as might lead to the detection and punishment of the guilty, she mildly replied: "I kept my eyes shut! and I hope that God will not punish me for sins, to which I never gave my consent." On the whole, she appeared to me perfectly resigned under the occurrence of so many grievous accidents. Upon the report which I made to the Emperor, he gave her assistance and protection.

sequestration of the property of the Dukes of Infantado, of Hijar, of Medina, of Santa-Cruz, of Fernand-Nuñes, of Altamira, of the Prince of Castel-Franco, and of Cevallos, who had violated the oath taken to King Joseph. The Bishop of Santander, who had shown himself one of our most violent enemies, was treated in the same manner.

Head-quarters were removed from Burgos on the 22d to Lerma, and on the 23d to Aranda, where we continued. During our stay there I translated for the Emperor the official declaration of war by Spain against France, its dominions, and its people, &c. That royal proclamation of the Central Junta of the Government of the Spanish Peninsula, was published in the name of King Ferdinand VII. who was in France, forwarded in the form of a circular, with forty-five copies, by the minister of war, and addressed to the Captain-general of Arragon, who was himself besieged in Sarragossa. Hostilities, however, had continued for eight months, and seven days afterwards we entered Madrid as conquerors. On the 29th we were at Bosceguillas, at about three leagues from Somma Sierra. The night was cold and damp. M. de Segur and I were lying in a granary, which contained cut straw according to the

fashion of the country. Being unable, notwithstanding every precaution, to keep ourselves warm, we repaired to the bivouac nearest to the tent of Napoleon, who, seeing himself on the point of engaging in an important affair, was unable to sleep. At three o'clock in the morning he came to warm himself at our fire; he wore a superb fur, which had been presented to him by the Emperor Alexander. Orders were soon given for the march of the army: its progress was slow, because it was frequently necessary to repair the roads which the Spaniards had broken up in several places. It was eight o'clock when the General arrived at the foot of that famous position, which was gained after three brilliant charges of the Polish light-horse, and the chasseurs of the guard. It was in one of these attacks that Philip de Segur, my noble and valiant friend, was seriously wounded by three balls; his horse and his garments were shot through and through. The Count of Turenne, then an artillery officer to the Emperor, rendered him the first assistance, and supported him in the middle of the grape-shot to which Napoleon himself was exposed. The terror of the Spaniards on seeing their battery taken by the light cavalry of the guard, was such, that in less than an instant the twelve

thousand enemies disappeared, as if by enchantment. Segur was conveyed to Buitrago, and the Emperor commanded one of his surgeons to attend him. We arrived before Madrid on the 1st of December, without having encountered a single Spaniard.

The head-quarters were established at Champ Martin, a little country house, belonging to the mother of the Duke of Infantado, and about a quarter of a league distant from Madrid.

Prince Murat, during his stay in the city, had fortified the palace of the Retiro in a manner which rendered it difficult of access. The Spaniards were in possession of it, and defended it valiantly. This was the most important point of attack; the capital having nothing to protect it but a common wall, resembling that which encircles Paris.

Napoleon, stationed upon a little eminence which commanded Madrid, in front of the gate of Fuencarral, confined himself on that side to a moderate attack, and waited for the execution of the orders he had given for the assault on the Retiro, being desirous not to deliver to his brother a city in ashes. Once master of the Retiro, the entrance into the interior was easy. The Spaniards at one time intended to defend it to the last extremity; and some of the prin-

cipal streets, that of Alcala among others, were unpaved to deaden the effect of the shells.

The 2nd of December was spent in an exchange of shot, and in bringing closer the lines of attack. The light cavalry, under the orders of Marshal Bessières, had already occupied a radius of three leagues about the city, and intercepted a crowd of people, who fled far from an unfortified city, which the imprudent inhabitants intended to defend against a numerous and victorious army.

On the morning of the 3rd, Napoleon occupied the same station as before, when an aide-de-camp of Marshal Bessières brought him a bundle of Spanish papers, seized by the cavalry of the guard, in a trunk belonging to General Coupigni, (or Bouligni,) who had escaped from Madrid. He had been one of the general officers of Castaños at the affair which led to the capitulation of Baylen. His name was known to the Emperor, who finding among the papers a private journal of that general officer, called me and ordered me to read it, translating to him at once the parts which had any reference to that capitulation. I found myself here then, with my hat under my arm, and the Spanish manuscript in my hand, marching with my gout at the side of Napoleon, who walked

slowly, without taking much notice of the projectiles which were discharged at us from the highest points of Madrid. He paid the greatest attention to what I read, and ordered me to send a translation to the minister of war.

Once masters of the Retiro, we became masters of the city. After several conferences it capitulated on the 4th, at six o'clock in the morning. The post-office, which was occupied by the people, and the new barracks of the body-guard, of which that force had possession, were the last places which held out. The barrack was a building which had been recently erected, of the strongest proportions; the walls were more than six feet thick, and the doors were iron. The most resolute had shut themselves inside, with arms and ammunition; and they had even transported cannons thither, which they pointed from all the windows of the first story. All the other windows of this great building were furnished with an armed multitude, who discharged a shower of balls upon the first French troops who presented themselves. The discharge of the cannons took place at the same time, with a frightful noise. This isolated redoubt, in the centre of a great yard, was inaccessible, and it vomited forth death from every side. It was not until

two hours had elapsed that the corregidor and the alcades could advance and issue their orders to the men within it to cease firing, in consequence of the city having capitulated. In their despair they broke their muskets, spiked their cannon, and gave up possession with heartfelt rage. If things had not been terminated in this manner, it would have been necessary to have reduced them by famine, and to have laid a regular siege to these barracks, which were situated in one of the finest quarters of the city.

Before our arrival at Madrid, a Central Junta of government was formed, under the presidency of the Count of Florida-Blanca; its residence was fixed at Aranjuez. Scarcely was it installed and recognized, when it found itself dissolved by the capture of the capital. It was the destiny of all the chiefs of the Spanish government to be overthrown a few days after their installation. In the course of the year, 1808, Godoi, Charles IV., Ferdinand, Joseph, the Central Junta, and Joseph again, reigned by turns; not to mention Napoleon.

On the 6th, two days after the capitulation, I received orders to inspect the King's palace. I found it in the best condition. Spaniards, whatever circumstances may be, preserve an ad-

mirable respect for every thing which appertains to the king. After the compulsory retreat of Joseph, the royal palace was closed, and the ministers held their councils at the post-office, one of the finest buildings in Madrid. This religious preservation of the royal property was such, that the portrait of Napoleon on horseback crossing St. Bernard, painted by David, and that of the Queen of Spain, the spouse of King Joseph,* which decorated the reception-hall, were restored to the same place which they had occupied, while King Joseph held his court in the palace. He found every thing else which he had left equally well taken care of, even the precious wines, etc. The apartments of King Charles contained the finest collection of watches I have ever seen. I doubt whether the three best watchmakers' shops in Paris, could furnish one more numerous or more varied. They were placed under glasses in frames attached to the hangings. The collection was the more curious, because it exhibited the first watches that were invented, and

* That portrait, after having been a long while in the palaces of Paris, Naples, and Madrid, was carried to Morfontaine, where it was disfigured by the Prussians, was afterwards restored by M. Gerard, and finally sent to New York, where it is at present.

the improvements which the genius of man had successively added to them. When I made my report to Napoleon of the state in which I had found the royal palace, nothing could equal his astonishment on my speaking of his portrait. In explaining to him this national respect for the property of the king, I cited the example of the *bandolleros*, or highway robbers, who permit the couriers of the king to pass without rifling or molesting them. *Son correo del rey.* That was sufficient—at least formerly.

On the 12th, the Marquis of Saint-Simon, Grandee of Spain, born in France, and in the service of Spain since the commencement of the emigration, had in the department he commanded, the gate of Fuencarral, which was in front of the position occupied by Napoleon before Madrid. The Retiro was already conquered, as well as the immense gardens of Atocha, the Prado, the gates of Alcala, of the Récolets, &c.; and still they continued to fire on us continually from the gate of Fuencarral, which did not fail to excite much displeasure. Saint-Simon having the misfortune to be taken prisoner, Napoleon ordered him to be tried by a Court-martial; which condemned him

to be shot. He was about to perish, when his daughter, encouraged by the Grand-marshal and by the aides-de-camp of the Emperor, who afforded her every facility, implored pardon for her father. Napoleon could not resist the impulse of the noblest sentiments; and the Marquis of Saint-Simon owed his life to the virtue and the courage of his daughter.

Napoleon always resided at Champ-Martin, with the army encamped around him. He once only, and that *incognito*, visited Madrid and the royal palace. Few persons could be lodged at Champ-Martin; the others were established in Madrid in the best houses. I shall always remember with gratitude the kind reception given me by the Countess of Villa Lopez, Calle del Principe. That lady, aged and respectable, had not been willing to leave Madrid.

The theatres were open, and the Italian opera was, as previous to our arrival, performed in the principal one. We admired the constancy of the Spaniards, who eternally saw the *fandango* performed between the pieces to the same tune, with the same figures, and with the same costume. I expressed my astonishment to the Countess of Villa Lopez, who assured me

that that dance, originally Arabian, had become so completely national, that it was impossible for a Spaniard to witness its performance without emotion; and a gentleman, who resided with that lady at the same time I did, told me that the *fandango*, executed in a room by the same dancers as on the stage, was carried to a degree of perfection which theatrical propriety would not admit of. Some days afterwards I told this to the Duke of Rovigo, who commanded in Madrid, and had all the theatres under his influence, and Marshal Bessières, the Duke of Bassano, the Grand-marshal, d'Hervas, his noble brother, and myself, assembled one day at the palace of Medina-Cœli, which he occupied, in order to witness it. The dancers arrived, in costume, at ten o'clock, with their little guitar and their castanets. We took great pleasure in the powerful and animated execution of these Spanish dances. The dancers excited themselves so much that they asked permission to give a full loose to their imagination. The *fandango* appeared to me to be an allegorical representation of the passions,—the enticements, the refusals, the poutings, and the reconcilements of love. It is to be presumed that the imagination of the spectator supplies every thing that is wanting in the

choregraphical pictures which are presented on the stage. It is this invisible sensation which identifies itself with, and is modified according to the character of each spectator, that serves to explain that obstreperous joy which is excited by the first note of the violin that announces the *fandango*.

Of the six then present there now only remain the Dukes of Bassano, of Rovigo, and myself: Marshal Bessières and the Duke of Frioul (Duroc) met with a glorious death upon the field of battle; d'Hervas, so fraught with intelligence and noble sentiments, perished by a melancholy accident in Spain. That which we call living, is nothing more than calculating the losses which happen to, and around us.

January 1, 1809.

The English retreated and seemed little desirous of tarrying for Napoleon. After resting a day at Benevento we set out for Astorga. It was the 1st of January, and the snow fell in large and continued flakes.

After reposing two days at the latter town, Napoleon thought it beneath his dignity to pursue an enemy who fled in disorder before him; we turned back, and halted at Valladolid.

The road over which we had to pursue the English was a very difficult one, and we lost a great deal of time and many horses. It was imagined, from the Spanish maps, that it must be an extremely fine one, for it was designated the Royal Way, *Camino Real.* But this miserable road was called Royal only because it served for the couriers of the cabinet on horseback. The Spaniards whom we encountered in the towns through which we passed, took care not to tell us that the fine road from Madrid to Leon lay some leagues on our right.

We arrived at Valladolid on the 6th of January. The Emperor appeared more taken up with what was preparing in Germany, than the occurrences in the Peninsula. I knew that Austria had been displeased at not being admitted to the conference at Erfurt, and had refused to recognize Joseph officially as King of Spain, although she had not made any difficulty previously in acknowledging him as King of Naples. This was, I think, the original cause of the war in 1809, and of our return to France before the entire conquest of Spain.

We remained six days at Valladolid: this time was necessary for the new combinations which the absence of the chief would require.

During the short time we passed at Valladolid, Napoleon suppressed the Convent of Dominicans, because they had assassinated a French officer, whose corpse was discovered in the well of the interior of the convent. He commanded all the other monks to appear before him, and he addressed them with so much vehemence, that in the heat of his speech he expressed himself somewhat militarily, and plainly used a very strong word. I remember that the Count of Hédouville acted as an interpreter on the occasion, and that in translating verbally the language of Napoleon, he passed over in silence this technical word, which cannot be translated into any language, because it belongs, I believe, to all. It was impossible for Napoleon not to perceive it: he turned suddenly towards Hédouville, and ordered him to deliver the villanous word in question with firmness, and the same tone as he had done. The young diplomatist had a voice naturally soft and sweet, and the repetition was without effect. During this expostulation the monks were prostrate at the knees of Napoleon. There were only four or five of us in attendance, and he left us at the end of the room, and mingled with these forty monks, some of whom kissed the lower part of his dress. If among so great a number there

had been one audacious villain, never was there a better opportunity for the easy perpetration of a crime. Happily the greater part of these monks were Benedictines, good, learned, and an honour to the profession. This temerity of Napoleon excited our anxiety, and we were not at ease till the singular scene was terminated.

CHAPTER XI.

Return to Paris—Preparations for war in France and Germany—Rapidity of the triumphs of the army—Armistice after the battle of Wagram—Return of Napoleon to Fontainebleau—Arrival of the Austrian Commissioners at Schœnbrunn—Congress at Altemburg—Attempt to assassinate Napoleon; details of the transaction; sentence and execution of the assassin—Continuation of the negotiations at Schœnbrunn—Signing of the preliminaries.

I ARRIVED at Paris on Saturday, the 28th of January; Napoleon had arrived on the 23rd. The day following, Sunday, I went to the palace, where I saw the Emperor in the great square of the Tuileries, reviewing several regiments which were ordered for Spain. I stopped at the foot of the peristyle of the grand staircase, and saw the Count of Montesquiou coming towards me, to whom I hastened to give intelligence respecting his son, who remained in Spain, and for whom I entertained a real friendship. The Count informed me, that he had just re-

ceived a decree of the Emperor, which nominated him Grand-chamberlain, and that he had arrived with all dispatch to take the oath. I was the less prepared for this news, because I had seen M. de Talleyrand enter, and had not remarked any thing in his countenance which could have led me to suppose that he himself was the object of so great a change.

To the motives which I have already noticed as inducing the warlike attitude of Austria, should be added the hope she had conceived of repairing the losses which she had suffered by the treaty of Presburg. Seeing a great portion of the French army employed in Spain, she multiplied her outrages, had a French officer arrested on her frontiers, who was conveying dispatches to our *Chargé d'affaires* at Vienna, and took from him his papers, and read them. The cabinet of the Tuileries made reprisals, and had an Austrian courier arrested at Nancy. That power then inundated Germany with virulent proclamations, made an appeal to all the subjects of the Confederation of the Rhine, created a species of conscription under the name of *landwert*, made immense preparations, on the 4th of February, appointed the Generals-in-chief who were to command its numerous armies, and published the name of the Archduke

Charles as Generalissimo. That Prince, of a mild and amiable character, and acknowledged as the best general of Austria, thought himself obliged to issue several proclamations in order to interest the Austrians to range themselves under his banners, to fight against an enemy who was not yet named, in case that unknown enemy should menace the hereditary States of Austria. The government of those States, on its side, prescribed vigorous measures for the supply of the armies with provisions, and feigning that a new aggression was apprehended, asserted that the Emperor of Austria assembled so many troops only for the protection of his dominions. But Austria had not taken into account the activity, the genius, and the power of Napoleon. In a short time formidable armies were mustered upon the Rhine, without weakening those which were already in Spain; and all the sovereigns of the confederation, faithful to their engagements, placed themselves in a warlike position.

In the beginning of April, the Archduke Charles, imagining there was a French army in Bavaria, made it known that he had received orders from the Emperor his brother, to repair to that country, and to treat as enemies all who should offer him any opposition. A similar

declaration was addressed to Russia, the ally of France, &c. In consequence of that communication, the Austrian army entered Bavaria on the 10th and 11th of April. Meanwhile Prince Metternich, the Austrian ambassador, remained at Paris without demanding his passports.

A telegraphic dispatch made this new invasion of Bavaria known at Paris. Napoleon set out for Strasbourg on the 13th, and arrived there at four o'clock in the morning of the 16th, with the Empress Josephine, whom he left there. He crossed the Rhine at the head of his fine army, and hastened to the assistance of Bavaria. He overthrew the Austrian army, and victorious at every step, he was at the gates of Vienna on the 12th of May. Master of the Austrian capital, he marched his armies to the banks of the Danube, in order to pursue an enemy who continually escaped from him. The military registers have given publicity to the details of that memorable campaign. Among so many glorious combats, the official bulletins signalized that of Abensberg, which did so much honour to General Claparède, my countryman and my friend.

When Austria saw her armies destroyed, her provinces, and even her kingdom invaded, she

proposed an armistice; and Napoleon had the generosity to consent to one. If he had been as ambitious as he has been represented by his detractors, he had then a fine opportunity for gratifying his ambition. Austria, after the battle of Wagram, was in a desperate position. Russia, which made common cause with France, had her armies, commanded by Prince Galitzin, upon the frontiers of Austrian Galicia; the Polish army, led by the illustrious Poniatowsky, had driven back every thing which had been opposed to it, and marched upon Bohemia; and the army of Italy, victorious at all points, under the orders of its valiant general, had advanced to the centre of Hungary. All the corps of the French army pressed upon Austria at every point, and it was generous—that is the word—on the part of Napoleon to grant an armistice to an enemy whom he had conquered for the third time, and who had provoked him in the most injurious manner.

The French army maintained its positions and took up its cantonments. Napoleon returned to Schœnbrunn, and the Austrian commissioners soon arrived there. They were the Prince John of Lichtenstein and the Count of Bubna. M. de Champagny on the part of France,

and M. de Metternich, returned from France, on the part of Austria, repaired to Altemburg, a little town upon the frontiers of Hungary. This Congress was one of an entirely new species, for it did not treat upon any subject. Napoleon alone, directly and at Schœnbrunn, treated respecting the conditions of the peace. Prince John and the Count of Bubna came several times in the week, breakfasted with Napoleon, conferred with him for an hour or two, and returned straight to Comorn, the head-quarters of the Emperor of Austria. There was no communication with the diplomatists at Altemburg, at least on the part of France. These gentlemen, while waiting for documents, amused themselves with giving fêtes to the ladies of that little town.

I always thought that the real secret article of this peace, which was being discussed, was the marriage of Napoleon with the Archduchess Maria-Louisa. I observed the countenances of the two proxies of Austria with attention when they breakfasted with the Emperor; I interrogated their looks, and I thought that I could discern every day an increase of harmony and mutual good understanding. It was evident to me that they had no serious difficulty respecting the material or ordinary

interests of the two powers, and that all depended upon a point beyond the line of discussions of that nature. The politeness and attention displayed by Napoleon to the commissioners did not contradict it for an instant. He seemed anxious to give them a favourable idea of his manners and his person. On one day only, in their absence, did I hear him express himself in a manner which induced me to think that matters were not proceeding according to his wish. He left his closet with the Prince of Neufchâtel, and continuing the conversation till he reached his seat at the breakfast-table, I heard these words, which I have never forgotten:—"To settle all, I shall send for the Granduke of Wurtzbourg, and place upon his head the imperial crown of Austria."

In the course of these negotiations, Napoleon, according to his custom, reviewed the different corps of the army. The parade took place every morning at nine o'clock in the large and beautiful square of the palace of Schœnbrunn. He descended from the palace by a fine double staircase, in the form of a horseshoe. Generally speaking, the officers of the army and of the guard who were not upon duty, attended upon the lower steps and at the foot of the staircase; this was particularly the case

with those who had any thing to ask from Napoleon, who always stopped to listen to them, and to receive their petitions. One day, being desirous to review two or three lines of French prisoners, who had been conducted to head-quarters, in consequence of an exchange taking place, and to know, from their recital, the time, the day, the place, and the manner of their being taken prisoners, he did not stop at all on descending the staircase, but at once went to the troops. A person, clothed in a plain blue riding-coat and a military hat, with a metal button, bearing upon it the eagle, but without a cockade, and holding a paper in his hand, seeing that Napoleon did not stop, insisted on following him, and presenting his petition himself. The Prince of Neufchâtel, who followed the Emperor, told this person he could present his petition when the parade was finished; Napoleon, occupied with the prisoners, did not observe what was taking place behind him. Notwithstanding the observation of the Prince of Neufchâtel, the man continued to follow, pretending that the subject of his request would not occasion any delay, and that he wished to speak to Napoleon. General Rapp, the aid-de-camp on duty, seeing that he persisted in mingling with the general

officers who followed the Emperor, stopped him by the collar of his coat, desiring him warmly to retire; in doing so, General Rapp felt the handle of an instrument which the man had in his side-pocket: he grasped him more strongly, and made a sign to two of the picked *gens-d'armes* who were always on duty to maintain order. The man was arrested, and conducted immediately to the guard-house, which was under my apartment. I myself was at one of my windows, which being the best situated for seeing the parade, were often occupied by ladies from Vienna. That day I had the honour of receiving the Countess of Bellegarde, wife of the Field Marshal, and the Princess of Furstemberg; I was close to them, and I pointed out the different personages who passed before us. Like myself, they observed the arrest which had taken place, and curious to know the cause, they intreated me to seek for information. I addressed myself to General Rapp, who related to me everything that had transpired, and informed me, that the individual having been searched in the guard-house, a knife was discovered on him with a long blade, sharpened at both sides, and which could not have been where it was, but for the purpose of assassinating the Emperor; that moreover, the wearer of

the dangerous instrument did not hesitate to acknowledge that such had been his intention. I returned to the ladies, to render them an account of what I had learned, and they testified an extreme horror against the author of so culpable a project. It is a certain, positive, and incontestable fact, that Napoleon knew nothing whatever of the transaction during the parade, and that no report was made to him until he had returned to his apartments. He had the fanatic brought before him, who said that he was the son of a Protestant minister of Erfurt, that he should reckon among the most glorious actions of his life, the attempt which he had made to deliver Germany from its greatest enemy, and that he had left his country solely for the purpose of executing it. "But if I pardon you," said Napoleon, "will you not be induced by gratitude to renounce the idea of assassinating me?" "I would not advise you to do so," said the wretch, "for I have sworn your death." "Surely the man is mad!" said Napolean to Corvisart, whom he had sent for; "feel his pulse." Corvisart obeyed, and said he could not detect any kind of agitation; that the pulse and heart were tranquil. This man, whose name I have forgotten, was conveyed to Vienna to prison, where he was closely guarded.

for some days deprived of sleep, and fed with fruits, in order to weaken his constitution, and to compel him to reveal the names of his accomplices. He persisted in disclosing nothing, and boasted of his project. He was tried by a military commission, and shot. This is the occurrence as it really took place.

One of the *officiers de santé* of the guard was billeted in the liberties of Vienna, on the side of Schœnbrunn, at the house of an aged canoness, of the name of Lichstenstein, and who was nearly related to Prince John. The demands of this officer were excessive, and overstepped the bounds of custom. In a moment, when the Hungarian wine had somewhat impaired his reason, he conceived the unfortunate idea of writing a letter to his hostess, fraught with terms so extravagant, and at the same time so impertinent, that that lady felt herself obliged to have recourse to the protection of General Andreossy, Governor of Vienna, in order to be released from so troublesome a guest. In support of her request, she sent the letter which had been written by the officer, and whose name I have forgotten. This epistle, as far as I can call it to mind, began thus:—

"If the Marshal Duke of Dantzic, of glorious memory, were lodging with you, Madam, he would say to you, 'My pretty Princess,' &c. &c.

The rest of the letter was worthy this exordium, and while it insulted a respectable princess, also injured Marshal Lefèvre, by making use of his name, as an example or as an authority for multiplying his outrages. General Andreossy sent this letter to the Prince of Neufchâtel, together with that which had been written to him by Madame de Lichstenstein. Both were laid before Napoleon, who gave an order to M * * * to attend parade the following morning. It so happened, that the Count of Bubna was at Schœnbrunn, and was present at parade. Napoleon descended the grand staircase rapidly, without speaking to any one, his countenance inflamed, and holding the quarantine officer's letter in his hand. "Send M * * * here," said he, raising his voice. "Is it you who have written and signed this infamous letter?"—"Pardon, Sire, it was in a moment of inebriation, when I knew not what I wrote."—"Wretch! to insult one of my bravest lieutenants, and at the same time a canoness worthy of respect, and who has already enough to complain of, in having to support a portion of

the misfortunes of war. I believe not, I admit not your excuse. I degrade you from the legion of honour; you are unworthy to wear its revered symbol. General d'Orsenne, execute my order. To insult an aged female! I respect every aged female as though she were my mother!" These were the words I heard, and which the Count of Bubna could hear as well, for we were both upon the steps of the staircase, and witnesses of the scene. The officer who is the subject of this note, was, as far I could learn, a quiet, inoffensive man, esteemed in his department as much for his talents as his good conduct. These considerations probably influenced the pardon which was granted him a few days afterwards at the solicitation of all his superiors. The first moment past, Napoleon always relented, and showed mercy, especially to those who had served him with zeal and fidelity.

The conferences between Napoleon and the two Austrian commissioners continued without interruption, and I was more and more convinced that they treated of an affair of a private nature, and that it was that affair alone which retarded the signature of peace. Napoleon would not have had so much patience,

and would not have heaped so many kindnesses upon Prince John, and the Count of Bubna, if he had been simply employed in the discussion of a cession of some political advantages. He had too much ground for complaint against Austria not to declare at once and openly what he required, and the conditions he imposed. This armistice lasted more than three months, and he was not the man to lose his advantages in useless conferences. Without being able to justify my opinion otherwise than by vague observations, I am induced to believe that the alliance of which I have already spoken, was the sole object of the interviews, and that point once admitted, the manner and the way in which the divorce should take place were the subject of the latter negotiations. Peace was at length signed on the 14th of October, and Napoleon sent a courier the same day to acquaint M. de Champagni, at Altemburg, with the intelligence, and to recall him. I remember that that minister was invited to dinner by Napoleon, the very day of his return to Schœnbrunn, and that the Emperor asked him, laughing, "If he had not been surprised at the repose in which he had been left at Altemburg, and the signature of the peace."—"I confess, Sire," replied M. de Champagni, "that in my capa-

city of minister for foreign affairs to your Majesty, I had very little notion of what was passing here." Napoleon spoke with somewhat of a triumphant air, which was strongly contrasted with the embarrassment of his minister.

CHAPTER XII.

Departure from Schœnbrunn.—Arrival of the Emperor at Fontainebleau.—Conversation with the Empress Josephine, who acquaints me with the fears she entertains.—The King of Saxony at Paris.—The Court quits Fontainebleau.—Announcement of the Divorce to the Empress Josephine.—Events which follow that communication.

WE set out for Munich before the ratification of the treaty of peace by Austria. In order that it might be communicated with the utmost promptitude, military posts were established at short intervals along the road, and upon the most elevated points, directed to communicate it to each other, if during the day, by white flags, and if during the night, by great fires. The news of the ratification arrived at Munich the third day of our stay there, and we left the next day for Fontainebleau. Napoleon arranged every thing so well, that he arrived several hours before the Empress Josephine, who had quitted Strasbourg and re-

turned to Paris more than a month before. This neglect of the Empress occasioned a trifling reproach from Napoleon.

Three days after our arrival at Fontainebleau, I observed some clouds of sadness upon the brow of Josephine, and much less freedom in Napoleon's manner towards her. One morning after breakfast, the Empress did me the honour to converse with me in the recess of a window in her chamber; and after some insignificant questions respecting our stay at Schœnbrunn, and the manner in which we passed our time, she said to me: "Monsieur de Bausset, I have a confidence in your attachment to me; I hope you will reply with frankness to the question I am about to ask you." I assured her of my readiness to give her every information I could, and that I had so much the more case in doing so, because no kind of communication had been made to me, which could bind me to silence. "Well, then, tell me, if you know, why the private communication between my apartment and that of the Emperor has been shut up?"—"I was ignorant of it, Madam, until now; all that I am acquainted with, is, that some repairs were commenced, and that they have been suspended in consequence of the Emperor returning much sooner

than he was expected. Perhaps, also, they could not foresee that he would come to reside at Fontainebleau, at a season so advanced as this. Your Majesty may see, by a part of the furniture of his apartments, that things are not yet finished." Such was my answer, and in truth, I should have been much embarrassed to have made any other. This was not the occasion for me to speak of my private observations. I shall never forget the last words which that excellent princess did me the honour of addressing to me. "M. de Bausset, believe me, there is some hidden mystery!" This conversation only served to strengthen the ideas which I had formed during the negotiations at Schœnbrunn, although it was impossible for me to foresee the moment of this climax, and the manner in which it would be brought about. I did not long remain without better information.

The King of Saxony arrived at Paris on the 13th of November, and their Majesties quitted Fontainebleau, on the 14th. Napoleon performed the journey on horseback, and on arriving visited the King of Saxony, who occupied the palace of l'Elysée. The presence of that virtuous monarch at Paris, broke up sometimes the private conversation, but, in my view, the embarrassment of the countenance of Napo-

leon augmented in proportion to the inquietude and vague prepossessions of the Empress Josephine. She appeared to have a presentiment of some misfortune, and to summon all her strength to support its bitterness with courage.

I was on duty at the Tuileries from Monday November 27; on that day, the Tuesday and Wednesday following, it was easy for me to observe a great alteration in the features of the Empress, and a silent constraint in Napoleon. If in the course of dinner he broke the silence, it was to ask me some brief questions, to which he did not hear the reply. On those days the dinner did not last for more than ten minutes. The storm burst on Thursday the 30th.

Their Majesties went to table. Josephine wore a large white hat, tied under her chin, and which concealed a part of her face. I thought, however, that I perceived she had been weeping, and that she then restrained her tears with difficulty. She appeared to me the image of grief and of despair. The most profound silence reigned throughout the dinner; and they only touched the dishes which were presented to them out of mere form. The only words uttered, were those addressed to me by Napoleon. "What o'clock is it?" In pronouncing them, he rose from table. Josephine followed

slowly. Coffee was served, and Napoleon took himself the cup which was held by the page on duty, and gave the sign that he wished to be alone. I immediately retired, but restless, and a prey to my sad thoughts, I sat down in the attendance-room, which was commonly used for their Majesties to dine in, in an arm-chair, on the side of which was the door to the Emperor's room; I was mechanically watching the servants who were clearing the table, when on a sudden, I heard violent cries from the Empress Josephine issue from the Emperor's chamber. The usher of the chamber, thinking she was taken ill, was on the point of opening the door, when I prevented him, observing, that the Emperor would call for assistance if he thought it necessary. I was standing close to the door, when the Emperor himself opened it, and perceiving me, said quickly; "Come in, Bausset, and shut the door." I entered the chamber and saw the Empress Josephine stretched on the carpet, uttering piercing cries and complaints. "No, I will never survive it," said she. Napoleon said to me; "Are you sufficiently strong to raise Josephine, and to carry her to her apartments by the private staircase, in order that she may receive the care and assistance which she requires?" I obeyed and raised the Prin-

cess, who, I thought, was seized with a nervous affection. With the aid of Napoleon, I raised her into my arms, and he himself taking a light from the table, opened the door, which, by an obscure passage, led to the little staircase of which he had spoken. When we reached the first step of the staircase, I observed to Napoleon, that it was too narrow for it to be possible for me to descend without the danger of falling. He forthwith called the keeper of the portfolio, who day and night was in attendance at one of the doors of his closet, the entrance to which was on the landing-place of this little staircase. Napoleon gave him the light, of which we had little need, for the passages had become light. He commanded the keeper to go on before, and took himself the legs of Josephine in order to assist me in descending with less difficulty. At one moment, however, I was embarrassed by my sword, and I thought we must have fallen, but fortunately we descended without any accident, and deposited the precious burden on an ottoman in the sleeping-chamber. Napoleon immediately pulled the little bell, and summoned the Empress's women. When I raised the Empress in the chamber she ceased to moan, and I thought that she had fainted; but at

the time I was embarrassed by my sword in the middle of the little staircase, of which I have already spoken, I was obliged to hold her firmly to prevent a fall which would have been dreadful to the actors in this melancholy scene. I held the Empress in my arms, which encircled her waist, her back rested against my chest, and her hand leaned upon my right shoulder. When she felt the efforts which I made to prevent falling, she said to me in a very low tone, "You press me too hard." I then saw that I had nothing to fear for her health, and that she had not for an instant lost her senses. During the whole of this scene I was wholly occupied with Josephine, whose situation afflicted me; I had not power to observe Napoleon; but when the Empress's women had come, he retired into a little room which preceded the sleeping-chamber, and I followed him. His agitation, his inquietude, were extreme. In the distress which he felt he made me acquainted with the cause of every thing that had happened, and said to me these words: "The interest of France and of my dynasty does violence to my heart—the divorce has become a rigorous duty to me—I am the more afflicted by what has happened to Josephine, because three days ago she must

have learned it from Hortensia—the unhappy obligation which condemns me to separate myself from her—I deplore it with all my heart, but I thought she possessed more strength of character, and I was not prepared for the bursts of her grief." In fact, the emotion which oppressed him, compelled him to make a long pause between each phrase he uttered, in order to breathe. His words came from him with labour and without connection; his voice was tremulous and oppressed, and tears moistened his eyes. It really seemed as if he were beside himself to give so many details to me, who was so far removed from his councils and his confidence. The whole of this transaction did not occupy more than seven or eight minutes. Napoleon immediately sent to seek for Corvisart, Queen Hortensia, Cambacérès, and Fouché; and before he returned to his apartment, he assured himself of the condition of Josephine, whom he found more calm and more resigned. I followed him, and after having recovered my hat, which I had thrown on the carpet that my motions might be more free, I retired to the attendance-chamber. To avoid all kinds of commentaries, I said before the pages and the ushers that the Empress had been seized with a violent affection of the

nerves. Thus, by accident, and by the natural course of the duties of my office, I became initiated at the very outset in so important and serious a transaction. Although the Emperor in the moment of his unbosoming himself to me, had not disclosed any thing with respect to the rank or the person he was about to marry, the future was developed to me, and I did not doubt, after the private observations which I had made during the negotiations at Schœnbrunn, that it was an Archduchess of Austria.

I remained in the attendance-room, absorbed in the reflections which were excited by the scene I had witnessed, and the secret I had become acquainted with. I saw Queen Hortensia, Cambacérès, Fouché, and Corvisart, arrive. There was in these goings backwards and forwards an agitation and a bustle, which would not have astonished me, if I had had the least inquietude with respect to the health of Josephine, but I associated them with the sufferings of her heart, and I felt how little rank, fortune, and grandeur, contribute to real happiness. I reviewed in my mind all the happy gifts and amiable qualities which ought to have preserved Josephine from such a repudiation. This divorce, however, was made on both parts

with great constancy and courage: no wrong, no humiliating motive was had recourse to, to colour and excuse it; and that which was most extraordinary in this event was, that it took place with a reciprocal affection and a rare dignity —it was a generous sacrifice, indeed, to great political interests, with which the noble children of Josephine concurred, both filled with love for their adorable mother, and gratitude for the benefits they had received from Napoleon. This divorce produced no division in the family; the Emperor continued always the most tender friend of Josephine, and preserved a truly paternal affection all his life for the viceroy and Queen Hortensia. Josephine, at that period, was forty-six years of age, and it was impossible for her to possess more graceful manners and appearance. The expression of her eyes was enchanting, her smile was full of charms, and the whole of her features and her voice were gentle in the extreme; her figure was noble, flexible, and perfect; the purest taste and the most consummate elegance presided at her toilet, and made her appear much younger than she really was. But all these brilliant advantages were nothing when compared with the goodness of her heart. Her wit was pleasing and gay; it never wounded the feelings of any

one, and never gave birth to that which was disagreeable; her temper was always equable, and without peevishness. Devoted to Napoleon, she communicated to him her sweetness and her good-nature without his perceiving it, and gave him, in a jesting manner, advice which more than once proved useful. At the risk of repeating myself, I will say, that always ready to oblige, she taught the way to Napoleon's indulgence and goodness; and I know of no one who can say that she refused to render all the benefit and succour within her power. Thus blessings and prayers followed her in her distress, and afterwards the great powers of Europe hastened, by their homage, to unite with the sentiments of the whole nation. She possessed in a greater degree than any woman I have ever known, that taste for society which, in general, has so many charms for those who are so happy as to partake of it. Nature had endowed her with sentiments always just and good. Few women have possessed to the same extent that delicate feeling which induces them to forget themselves, and to think only of the object which is dear to them: that patience, that true courage, that tranquillity in excess of misfortune, that noble benevolence which shrinks from all ostentation, those

delicate and ingenious methods and manners of conferring a benefit; that constancy, I will venture to say, in the will to oblige; in short, that sensibility which made her ambitious of no other reward than the return of sentiments which she merited to obtain.

The moment of weakness which seized her, when she heard her fate from the mouth of Napoleon, was the only one which she exhibited. She made it her glory to conquer herself, and to devote herself to the new duties which were traced out for her without apparent effort. I do not mean to say by that, that she returned to private life, since she preserved in her palace of Malmaison, the rank, the magnificence, and the grandeur of an Empress-dowager. I even believe she was more happy, less dependant, and more herself than at the Tuileries, where her life was often mingled with constraint in the infinity of little trifles, and of court details, from which she was liberated by this new species of emancipation. Having no other desire than to conform to the taste and habits of Napoleon, she was often obliged to receive, and to show kindnesses to persons, who were not to her taste: she was almost always compelled, too, to repair to table, and to wait for the Emperor, who deeply engaged in his

cabinet, forgot the hour. The dinner was regularly served at six o'clock: it happened one day, or rather one evening, that Napoleon forgot the announcement which had been made to him until eleven o'clock, and on leaving his closet he said to Josephine: "I think it is rather late?"—"Past eleven o'clock!" replied she, laughing. "I thought I had dined," said Napoleon, setting down to table. This self-denial was a virtue which Josephine had to exercise on more than one occasion. Napoleon was perfectly right when he said: "I win nothing but battles, and Josephine, by her goodness, wins all hearts."

In giving these details of private life, I have borne in mind the passage of Saint Simon, in which he says, when speaking of the mode of life of Philip V. of Spain, and the Queen his wife, that "nothing produces so much influence upon the great and the little as this *mécanique* of sovereigns; that this knowledge is one of the best keys to all other, and that it is always wanting in histories, and often in memoirs, of which the most interesting and the most instructive would have been better, if their authors had less neglected that part," &c. &c. I shall not be blamed, then, for saying that the evening when Napoleon came to table to dine

after eleven o'clock, the dinner remained on the table during the five hours of delay, and the only precaution which was taken was to fill the dishes with boiling water every quarter of an hour. It was necessary to adopt that plan, because Napoleon might have left his closet at an instant, and there would not have been time to serve the table. Thanks to the importance of the habits of sovereigns, I may finish this note by observing that there were twenty-three chickens, which were successively put on the spit, and placed on the table; and that was the only change that was made in the dinner.

CHAPTER XIII.

Respecting the Empress Josephine—Te Deum at Notre-Dame for the Peace.—Ball given by the city of Paris.—The Empress appears there in public for the last time.—The alliance with Austria is fixed.—Spiritual divorce between Napoleon and Josephine.—Count Otto the Ambassador from Vienna.—General Ordenner, Governor of the palace of Compiégne.

FROM the moment her new destiny was revealed to her, the Empress, affected, but suffering little, kept her apartment and never appeared at court. She had the goodness to thank me for the attentions I had rendered her; but she remained convinced during the rest of her life that I was previously initiated into the secret of Napoleon: she deceived herself; it was chance alone that disclosed it. As to the rest, Napoleon congratulated himself on my presence, for Fouché assured me the next evening, that he had said to him, that if either of my two colleagues had been on duty,

they would not have had strength to sustain Josephine as I had done, which would have obliged him to call for farther assistance, have given the occurrence too much publicity, and have increased the embarrassment of a scene sufficiently melancholy.

A Te Deum was chaunted for the peace of Vienna, the consequences of which were so afflicting to the heart of Josephine; and she was obliged to be present in a gallery with all the princesses of the family. Napoleon himself went alone with great ceremony. The Empress was again obliged to attend a fête which was given by the city of Paris, and that was the last time she appeared in public.

The Kings of Wurtemberg, Bavaria, Naples, and Westphalia, and the Viceroy, arrived at Paris. As for myself, I set out on the 8th of December to fill the honourable and flattering mission of President of the Electoral College of the department of Hérault, so distinguished by the vivacity of its spirit, the nobleness of its character, and the politeness of its manners. This happy circumstance caused my absence from Paris. I set out before the official communications took place, which were made to the Senate on the 16th of December. All

The circumstances of the divorce are known, and I have learned nothing private respecting those important events. Napoleon was to occupy the palace of Trianon, and Josephine retired to Malmaison. He returned to Paris on the 26th, and some days after held a cabinet council, in which it was deliberated what would be the most advantageous alliance for France. It had the appearance of discussing a thing, which, in my mind, had been decided at Schœnbrunn. The majority of the council were for an alliance with Austria. Those who were in the secret of Napoleon's choice, voted, as might be expected, for that alliance; but those who honestly discussed the question, presented objections, which would, perhaps, have prevailed, if the choice had not already been made.

The civil dissolution of the marriage having taken place, Napoleon and Josephine presented a request to the Officiality of Paris for that of the spiritual ties. This sentence was pronounced, and confirmed afterwards by the Metropolitan Officiality. Thus, on the 12th of January, 1810, all was finished.

On the 2nd of February, Napoleon had presented to the Senate, and adopted as the law of

the state, all that was necessary with respect to the domain of the crown, to the dowry of the Empress, and to the appanages of the princes of the family. In that he imitated those private individuals who make a new arrangement of their affairs before marriage. Three days afterwards he formed the household of the Empress, and appointed for her lady of honour the beautiful widow of his companion in arms, Marshal Lannes, Duke of Montebello, and proved by the choice, which met with general approbation, that he was not forgetful of the brilliant services which had been rendered him. He gave the government of the Palace of Compiègne to General Ordenner, as a retirement; appointed Prince Aldobrandini Borghèse to the situation of first master of the horse to the Empress; and the Senator Count of Beauharnais, to that of first gentleman usher. was conciliating all interests and keeping all parties in remembrance.

The Duchesses of Bassano and Rovigo, and the Countesses of Montmorency, Mortemart, Talhouet, Lauriston, Duchâtel, Bouillé, Montalivet, Péron, Lascaris, Vintimille, Brignolé, Gentili, and Canisy, were appointed ladies of the palace; and afterwards the Countess of Beauveau, the Duchess of Dalberg, and the

Countess Edmond de Perigord, by birth Princess of Courland, were added to this list, already so remarkable.

The preliminary, domestic, and suitable arrangements were hardly concluded, when Napoleon despatched his aid-de-camp, the Count of Lauriston, for Vienna, and some days after the Prince of Neufchâtel, to demand formally the hand of the Archduchess, Maria Louisa. The Senate received by a message the communication of the project of marriage.

CHAPTER XIV.

Prince Eugene is named successor to the Grand Duchy of Frankfort. — A splendid court sent to the frontiers of Austria to receive the Empress Maria Louisa. — The German courts. — The King of Bavaria and two grenadiers in the streets of Munich.—Braunau.—Note containing a complete list of the persons forming the train of the Austrian court, charged with conducting Maria Louisa to the French court.—Arrangements for the ceremonial of the reception of her Majesty the Empress dictated by Napoleon.

My intention is not to repeat all that has been said in the journals of Paris and Vienna, relating to the ceremonies, festivals, and rejoicings with which Napoleon's marriage with Maria Louisa was celebrated; I shall confine myself to the notice of those particulars, which have perhaps passed without observation.

The first, is the nomination of Prince Eugene as successor to the Grand Duchy of Frankfort. This nomination took place at Paris on the 3d of March, the same day that the Prince of Neufchâtel arrived at Vienna; a

singular coincidence, which must be regarded as a kind of secret homage paid to the Empress Josephine. It was perhaps unwise on the part of Napoleon, because by it he made known his secret intention of adding, at some future period, the kingdom of Italy to his empire.

I was included in the suite of the attendants sent at the commencement of the month of March, to attend at the reception of the august bride. Count Philip Segur and I set out the first to establish the Imperial household at that place. The eagerness of all the Princes of the Confederation and of the Sovereigns, whose states we passed through, to learn from us all we knew concerning the arrangements which were to be made, was extreme. I have before me, and I am going to copy the order which was given us at the port of Munich.

"The Commandant-general of Munich, has the honour to inform M.M. de Posset (Bausset) and de Segur, coming from Paris, that his Majesty the King of Bavaria wishes to see them at his Palace the instant they arrive, whether by night or day, or at whatever hour, for the purpose of conversing with the above-mentioned gentlemen."

(Signed) BARON D'OJO,
"Munich, March 6th, 1810." Major-General."

The King inquired the time when the Queen of Naples would pass, and the service of honour which was sent to attend at the reception. We answered satisfactorily all the questions of this excellent King, who had the kindness to inform us himself which was the best inn in his capital. He would willingly have accommodated the whole train in his palace, but the Emperor's orders were positive. We travelled at the crown's expense, and it was our duty to incommode no one. I learnt, that after our departure, this monarch, so beloved by his own subjects and all the world, walked to the hotel, of which, according to his advice we had made choice, in order to satisfy himself that the best possible arrangements were made; that he returned again the night the whole company arrived; and, that finding the Queen, with the ladies of the palace, and the other travellers at table, he condescended, without the least ceremony, and with the greatest affability, to be present at the supper.

The King of Bavaria was the best of men. No one possessed a more easy and natural taste. He excused every one, he pardoned every one, and he pleased every one by his gentleness, his urbanity, his exquisite politeness, and by the strict honour with which he kept his word.

This happy disposition was not perverted by the splendour and illusions of supreme power. He always preserved that rare simplicity of manners, and that pleasing affability, which rendered him so dear to his subjects, his family, and all those who had the happiness to approach him.

In 1805, we were at Munich, in the midst of fêtes occasioned by the marriage of Prince Eugene. The King, dressed according to custom, in a simple great-coat, walked with two of his aid-de-camps in the streets of Munich. He perceived two grenadiers of the imperial guard, each with a lady leaning on his arm; he gently approached one of them, and said to him in a low tone of voice: "My friend, be on your guard, both your health and your companion's is in danger." The grenadier, who had recognized the King, from his having frequently accompanied the Emperor, answered in the same tone, "If that misfortune should happen to us, Sire, we shall go and get cured in your hospitals."—"No, not in my hospitals," said this good Prince, "but in the infirmary of my palace."—"We shall not fail to do so, Sire." The King's prediction was verified; the two grenadiers presented themselves at the infirmary of the palace, and by his

Majesty's order they were taken care of, cured, and treated with the greatest kindness.

The little town of Braunau, on the frontier of Austria and of Bavaria, offered but few accommodations for so splendid an occasion, and for the union of two such numerous courts.

There was no house fit to be a temporary palace, and we were obliged to hire several joining each other, and to have the walls broken through in order to build doors from story to story, and by this means enlarge the apartments and facilitate communication. In two days every thing was ready. The casket, and the marriage presents, the magnificence of which was admirable, were arranged and displayed in one of the Empress's largest apartments. All that the most refined luxury, good taste, and great wealth could procure that was elegant and expensive, was exhibited in proper order. All the dresses, linen, &c., had been made at Paris after the patterns belonging to her Majesty; but what struck us the most in the midst of so many fine things, was the smallness of the foot, judging by the shoes which we brought, and which had been made from the pattern of some sent from Vienna.

At a league from Braunau, at the extreme limit of the two frontiers, declared neuter for the occasion, was a house built of wood, divided into three apartments: one on the side of Austria, another on that of France, and one in the middle, larger than the two others. This last apartment was declared neuter, and was to serve for the ceremony of delivering up the betrothed Princess. On the side of France the entry into the neutral apartment was by a folding door, placed in the middle of the pannel. On the side of Austria a magnificent canopy had been raised, under which was an arm-chair covered with cloth of gold. This throne faced the French door of entrance: two side-doors were placed on the same side. On the right of the throne was a round table, covered with a rich cloth, and on this the act of delivering up the Princess was to be formally signed. An immense space had been left for the occupation of carriages of the two suites; fine avenues of green trees had been planted, and extended to the high road, both on the side of Austria and on that of France.

On the morning of the 16th of March, we heard of the arrival of the Austrian retinue at Altheim, a little town situated at about a league from the house. The Empress had

stopped there to change her travelling dress for a more suitable toilette. The Queen of Naples, with her train, repaired to the French apartment. This train consisted of the Duchess of Montebello, maid of honour, the Countess of Lucay, tire-woman, the Duchess of Bassano, the Countesses Montmorency, Mortemart, and Bouillé; of the Bishop of Metz (Jauffret), almoner, the Count of Beauharnais, first gentleman usher, Prince Aldobrandini Borghèse, first groom, Counts Aubusson, Bearn Angosse, and Barrol, chamberlains, Count Philip Segur, superintendant of the palace, Barons Saluces and Audenardes, grooms, Count Seyssel, master of the ceremonies, and of myself, prefect of the palace.

An eagerness easy enough to be explained, made me desirous of seeing the Empress as soon as she should arrive and enter the middle apartment, to take her seat on the throne, and give her court time to arrange itself around her, before our introduction. I had brought with me a gimblet, with which I had made several holes in the door of our apartment. This folly, which was not mentioned in the *process verbal*, afforded us the pleasure of contemplating at our ease the features of our young and new sovereign. I need not remark that

the ladies of our company were the most eager to make use of the openings which I had provided.

Maria Louisa entered, preceded by the master of the ceremonies of Austria, placed herself on the throne, and all the persons forming her court arranged themselves on the right and left, according to their rank. The last line was formed by the handsomest officers of the noble Hungarian guard, whose uniform is so rich and beautiful. All these arrangements being made, Baron Lorh, Austrian master of the ceremonies, came and knocked at the door of our apartment. Count Seyssel entered the first, preceding the French retinue, at the head of which was the Prince of Neufchâtel, commissioner plenipotentiary for delivering up the Princess, and Count Alexandre De Laborde, secretary to the embassy of reception.

The Empress was standing upright before her throne; her tall figure was perfectly symmetrical, her hair was fair and beautiful, her mild blue eyes bespoke the candour and innocence of her soul, and her countenance beamed with freshness and goodness. She wore a dress of gold brocade, worked with large flowers in their natural colours, the weight of which must have fatigued her very much. Round her neck she

wore the portrait of Napoleon, enriched with sixteen magnificent diamonds, which together cost five hundred thousand francs.

I here transcribe the ceremonial which Napoleon himself had dictated. It was followed literally.

Arrangements for the Ceremonial of the Reception of her Majesty, the Empress, at Braunau.

The building for this purpose having been prepared according to orders, her Majesty, the Empress, will arrive there at noon precisely.

The maid of honour, the ladies, and the whole train of her Majesty, will leave Braunau, in such time as to arrive at half-past eleven.

The Commissioner of the Emperor and King, the Prince of Neufchâtel, will arrive there at the same time.

Her Majesty, the Queen of Naples, will be invited to repair to the place of meeting at half-past eleven.

All that belongs to the French train, will enter by the French avenue, and occupy the place pointed out by the master of the ceremonies.

The Empress's groom will privately receive his orders.

General Friant will give orders to place sentinels outside and around the barriers which surround the building: there is to be no one in the Austrian party but those who belong to the Austrian service, nor in the French party, but those who appertain to the French service; strangers are excluded.

A superior officer will be charged with the enforcement of this arrangement, and there will be patroles in different parts for this purpose.

M. Segur will consult privately with General Friant, so as to have some one to direct the entry of the Austrian escort by the Austrian avenue.

The Empress, on her arrival at the building, will alight at the door of the Austrian apartment.

After her Majesty shall have reposed, she will repair to the apartment destined for the ceremony of the reception, followed by her Austrian retinue, and seat herself in an armchair, surrounded by her ladies, the officers of her household, and having on her left the Austrian commissioner charged with giving away the Empress.

The master of the ceremonies of the court of Vienna, or the officer charged with the fulfil-

ment of those functions, will fetch the French commissioner, and the officers and ladies appointed for the service of the Empress, who will be assembled in the apartment entitled French, and will place themselves on the French side.

The Queen of Naples will remain in the French apartment with the French train. She will be seated in an arm-chair, and surrounded by her household. She will remain in this apartment during the ceremony.

The French commissioner and train will enter the neutral apartment occupied by the Empress, by the French door.

The train will stop after having entered the apartment.

The French commissioner alone, accompanied by the French and Austrian master of the ceremonies, will advance towards the Empress, and after having made three salutes, he will address a compliment to her Majesty, in which he will explain the object of his mission.

After the answer of her Majesty, the Austrian master of the ceremonies will point out to the French commissioner the Austrian commissioner: the two commissioners will salute and compliment each other: the first compli-

ment will be paid by the Austrian commissioner.

The verification of the commissions will then take place; the Austrian counsellor of state performing the office of secretary, will read aloud the commission of the Austrian Emperor; and the French counsellor of state, performing the office of secretary, will read the orders with which the Emperor of the French has honoured his commissioner.

After the powers have been verified and accepted by each party, the act of the delivering up and the reception will be read, which will have been prepared beforehand, and translated from the German into the French language.

The reading of this act shall be performed equally by the state counsellors, each acting the part of a secretary, both Austrian and French.

The act will be signed in duplicate, by the Austrian and French commissioners; the Austrian commissioner will sign first, and each commissioner will take a copy of it. The copies will be countersigned by the French and Austrian state counsellors, performing the office of secretaries.

After this ceremony, the French commis-

sioner will retire to that part of the room occupied by the French train: the Empress will rise.

The Austrian commissioner will present his hand to the Empress to conduct her to the French side. The French commissioner will advance to meet her Majesty, and likewise offer his hand; he will conduct her towards the French train.

The French commissioner will present to her Majesty the maid of honour, and the persons appointed for her retinue, who will begin to perform the duties of their office about her person.

As soon as this ceremony shall be finished, the Queen of Naples shall go to the French door to meet the Empress. The Empress will embrace her; the Queen of Naples will take her by the hand, and conduct her to one of the Emperor's carriages. If there should be present at this ceremony a prince of Austrian blood, the Prince of Neufchâtel shall invite him to take a seat in the coach of the Empress.

From this moment, the conduct of the Empress, and of her retinue, belongs to the French commissioner, under the Empress's orders.

Immediately after the ceremony, the Empress will get into her carriage, and repair to Braunau, to the house which will have been

arranged for her reception, and in which will lodge as many of the persons forming the French retinue as can be accommodated.

The first groom of the Empress will give orders so that her Majesty may arrive at her abode in the order prescribed.

The persons who composed her Austrian train will be invited to come to Braunau, and will there occupy the lodgings which will have been prepared for them.

Messrs. Bausset and Segur will each give orders, as to what concerns them, as also for the Archduke Antony.

At eleven o'clock, the division of General Friant, and that of General Pajol, will be drawn up in line out of the town, from the moment of the ceremony—that is to say, at eleven o'clock, until after the entry of her Majesty into the place.

MILITARY INSTRUCTIONS.

The military honours to be paid her Majesty are those prescribed by the imperial decree of the 24th of the month of Messidor, in the year 12.

At the moment of the Empress's arrival at Braunau, Count General Friant, commander of the troops on that part of the frontier of

the Confederation, will go forward to meet her Majesty with his staff officers, and all the cavalry there assembled, as far as half a league from the place, and escort her to her house.

The officers and the flags will salute.

General Friant will salute the commander of the Austrian escort.

The trumpets will sound the march.

Half of the infantry will be ranged in line, to the right and left of the door by which her Majesty is to enter, and the other half in the places through which her Majesty is to pass.

The under officers and soldiers will present arms.

The officers and flags will salute; the drums will beat.

The general officers will put themselves at the head of their troops.

The commander and the other staff officers of the place will repair to the first barrier.

When her Majesty, with all her retinue, has passed the bridges, all the artillery in the place shall discharge three vollies.

A guard will be provided for her Majesty, composed of a battalion with her flag, and commanded by the Colonel.

A squadron of cavalry commanded by a colonel, will also be established in the house of her Majesty. This squadron will furnish two sentinels on horseback, armed with sabres, to be stationed before her Majesty's door.

The commanders of the above-named guard will receive orders and the pass-word from the Vice-Constable.

When her Majesty leavés the town of Braunau, the infantry will be arranged in the manner prescribed by article the first.

The cavalry will attend her as far as half a league from the barrier.

As soon as her Majesty has left the place with all the equipages of her suite, she will be saluted by three volleys from the whole of the artillery.

The same honours will be paid her Majesty on her passage through all the places occupied by French garrisons in Germany.

There will be placed beforehand detachments of cavalry at regular distances on the road to be travelled by her Majesty from Braunau to Strasburg, according to the arrangements of the ministers of war, to serve as an escort to her Majesty.

The three regiments of light-horse brigade of General Pajol, which are stationed in the

environs of Braunau, the third division of heavy cavalry, which are to assemble together in the environs of Augsburgh, will furnish detachments in Germany for the escort of her Majesty.

Each detachment will be commanded by an officer, and accompanied by a trumpeter.

General Friant will give orders for the French divisions to give a fête to the town of Braunau; as there is no accommodation, her Majesty will not be present.

It will be so managed, that the clocks of the town shall ring a peal when her Majesty enters.

General Friant will receive orders from the Prince of Neufchâtel with regard to the time when he is to present the officers.

The 16th, the day of the Empress's arrival, there will be a banquet for all the under officers and soldiers of the division.

If the Empress is not too much fatigued, she will ride in her carriage through the places where the tables are placed. Generals Friant and Pajol shall each assemble at dinner the officers of his own division, and invite them in the Empress's name to these banquets. Three healths shall be given: that of the Empress, the Emperor, and the Emperor of Austria. At

each of these healths there shall be fired a salute of thirty guns.

Her Majesty having arrived at Braunau, and reposed, the Prince of Neufchâtel will receive orders to administer the oath of fealty to the Duchess of Montebello, maid of honour. This latter will administer the oath to the lady in waiting, the first groom, the gentleman usher, and the four ladies of the palace. For this purpose, the maid of honour will give orders for a table, covered with a cloth, to be placed in the Empress's apartment, together with an arm-chair for her Majesty, similar to that at Paris. The ushers understand these arrangements.

The articles of dress brought to Braunau for the use of her Majesty during the journey will be presented to her by the waiting-woman. The ladies maids, and other persons sent for her service, will be named to her Majesty by the maid of honour. Her Majesty will have her hair dressed, and be attired in the French fashion, and continue to dress in the same style during the whole journey.

GENERAL ARRANGEMENTS.

The maid of honour, the gentleman usher, and the first groom, will have the direction of the service and of the journey, each following the instructions and enjoying the privileges of their place.

The Prince of Neufchâtel will have superintendence as the Commissioner of the Emperor.

The Emperor's aid-de-camp, Count General Lauriston, will perform the office of Captain of the guard: he will be charged with the escorts of her Majesty's guard wherever she stops.

A groom will be particularly charged with the arrangements for the horses and carriages on the journey.

There will always be a groom on horseback at the door on the right of her Majesty's carriage, and a page behind.

The officer commanding the escort will remain at the door on the left side of her carriage.

As soon as the reception of her Majesty is finished, the French household will enter upon her service.

CHAPTER XV.

Instructions given to the gentleman-usher, Count Beauharnais. —The Austrian Court takes leave.—Entry into Braunau. —Departure for Munich.—Baron Saint-Aignan at Munich.—Count Beauveau at Stuttgard.—Count Bondi at Carlsruhe.—Maria Louisa's entry into France; the Empress's first audience; Nancy, Vitri, Silleri, Courcelles.—Napoleon arrives at the last-mentioned place.—First interview between Napoleon and Maria Louisa.—He conducts the Empress to Compiègne.—The ceremonial of the interview becomes useless.—Marriage fêtes.—Presents from the town of Paris.—Health given at a banquet by Prince Ferdinand at the castle of Valençay.

A PARTICULAR order was given to the gentleman-usher, Count Beauharnais, by which he was desired not to use the prerogatives of his office, and forbidden to offer his hand to the Empress when she went up or came down stairs. Napoleon was anxious to demonstrate his gallantry and his respect to his young wife. This precaution, inspired by a sentiment of delicacy, was rather useless, as we shall shortly see.

All the formalities gone through, Prince Trauttmansdorff asked her Majesty's permission to kiss her hand when taking leave of her. This favour was granted him; and while the commissioners counted out the dowry (500,000 francs, all in new golden ducats), received the jewels and the diamonds, &c., we were much affected by the sight of the whole Austrian train, who moved on according to their rank, approached the throne, leant forward, and kissed the hand of the beloved Princess, from whom they were about to separate; all her servants, even those of the most inferior rank, were permitted to lay at her feet the tribute of their respect, their regret for her departure, and their prayers for her happiness. The eyes of her Majesty were filled with tears, and this sensibility so touching gained every heart.

On the Empress's arrival at Braunau, she laid aside all her foreign garments, and was dressed completely in the French style from head to foot, in conformity with the agreement. She afterwards received the oath of her ladies, of her gentleman-usher, and of her head groom. She dined with the Queen of Naples and Madame Lazanski. The Austrian court, which had been invited to spend the rest of this memorable day at Braunau, in order to enjoy for

a longer period the happiness of seeing her Majesty, dined with the French court. The Prince of Neufchâtel and the Duchess of Montebello did the honours of the table.

After dinner the Empress came into our apartment, and there received the last adieus of her father's court.

I set out the same evening, and preceded her Majesty, who was to leave for Munich early the next morning. At Haag she found the Prince Royal, now the King of Bavaria, and at Altuting, a breakfast, served by the King's household. In the evening she reached Munich, where the Baron St. Aignan, the Emperor's groom, brought her a letter from Napoleon. Every night, on arriving at the place where she was to pass the night, she found a messenger who gave her a letter from the Emperor. At Stuttgard, it was Count Beauveau; at Carlsruhe, Count Bondi, &c. &c. The letter Baron St. Aignan delivered at Munich tinged with grief the brilliant fêtes her presence occasioned. It desired her to separate from the Countess Lazanski, whom she tenderly loved, and who had been her last governess. The etiquettes of a court allow of no considerations, and count as nothing all the affections and sentiments of the heart. It has so frequently hap-

pened that princesses, who were allowed to take with them foreigners into a new country, have been so much influenced, either from the habits of their childhood, or from easiness of disposition, that it is now pretty generally established, that when a princess marries a sovereign prince, she ought to be yielded up to him free and unincumbered; she is henceforward to forget all that is past, and to commence a new life.

On her entry into the French territories, the Empress was hailed by the whole nation as the Aurora of the brightest destinies, the dawn of a new golden age. At Strasburg she was met by the Emperor's first page, who brought her a letter, the most choice flowers, and pheasants of his own shooting. She rested there three days, and for the first time had occasion to speak to the local authorities presented to her. She charmed every one with the grace and mildness of her behaviour; the clergy in particular were much pleased by the last words she addressed to them. After thanking them for the attentions and addresses of congratulation which they offered her, she added,—"I recommend myself to your prayers." At Nancy, and at Vitri, the Empress received the most affectionate letters, the attentions and homage of her

new subjects . . . . . After having passed through Chalons, breakfasted at Silleri, at the house of Count Valence, and passed through Rheims, we were at the last stage which was to take us to Soissons, where we were to pass the night, and make all those arrangements contained in written and very circumstantial regulations, concerning the interview which was to take place the following day. But the impatience of Napoleon, who was as much in love as a young man of fifteen, deranged the whole programme, and we were driven without stopping through Soissons to Compiègne. I had the honour to be in the same carriage with the Countesses Montmorency, Mortemar, and the Bishop of Metz. It seemed to me that those ladies were not at all better pleased than myself, at missing an excellent dinner which was prepared for us at Soissons. We reached Compiègne at midnight.

Napoleon beholding himself so near the object of his wishes, secretly quitted the Palace of Compiègne; enveloped in his grey riding-coat, and accompanied only by the King of Naples, he left the park by a little door, got into a calash without any coat-of-arms, and driven by men out of livery. By this secret departure Napoleon, in my opinion, desired not merely

to satisfy more quickly the new sentiments which filled his heart, but also to render more simple the ceremonial of the morrow's intended interview. The instruction said:

"When their Majesties shall meet in the middle tent (which they are to enter at the same time, at the two opposite sides) the Empress shall kneel; the Emperor shall raise and embrace her, and then their Majesties shall seat themselves."

Whatever deference and respect a husband may exact from his wife, it would have gone hard with the daughter of the Cæsars to fulfil this article of the ceremonial. The sudden mode of interview adopted by Napoleon, rendered this disagreeable part of the meeting unnecessary.

Napoleon, hastening to meet his young wife, passed Soissons and arrived at Courcelles just as the couriers of the Empress were putting fresh horses to her carriage. He alighted, had his calash put up, and sheltered himself from the rain which was falling, under the porch of a church situated outside of the village. He was standing apart with the King of Naples when the Empress's coach arrived; and while they were changing the horses, he rushed to the door and opened it himself: the groom

who recognised him, and was not in the secret of his concealment, quickly let down the steps, and announced the Emperor. He threw his arms round the neck of the Empress, who was quite unprepared for this sudden and gallant interview, and immediately gave orders that they should drive with all speed to Compiègne, where they arrived at ten at night.

The programme of the interview which was to have taken place next day was never executed. It was there settled, that when the Emperor left the Empress at night he should sleep at the *Hotel de la Chancellerie.* If we may judge by Napoleon's impatience, and by the breakfast which he caused to be served at noon by the Empress's bed-side, we think it probable that he did not sleep at the *Hotel de la Chancellerie.* The same regulation ordered that, after the civil marriage, which was to take place at Saint Cloud, Napoleon should pass the night at the Italian pavilion; I suspect that this article was not more strictly followed. However, I may be mistaken.

The account of all the fêtes which accompanied this brilliant wedding has been published.

The presents which the town of Paris offered their Majesties on this grand event, were very

magnificent. A complete toilette in silver-gilt, comprising an arm-chair *à la Psyche*, was even more valuable from the elegance of its shape, the great superiority of the chasing, and the admirable taste exercised in the choice of ornaments, than from the matter composing it. The most accomplished artists had not disdained to furnish designs and to assist in their execution. In 1814, these valuable articles were regarded as the private property of the Empress, and have been faithfully restored to her by the order of Louis XVIII. The present made to Napoleon consisted of a magnificent gilt table-service; it is the same which was made use of at the grand banquets, and which was placed in the royal treasury in 1814, as forming a part of the property of the crown, which Napoleon, according to his arrangements, had engaged to return.

Art and talent exhausted themselves in celebrating this august marriage. The whole of France sent forth songs of joy and happiness; poetry poured forth cantatas, odes, stanzas, dithyrambics, couplets, and allegories of all kinds. Even the castle of Valençay joined in this universal concert of homage and respect. Their Majesties' health was drank in

the following terms at a banquet given by Prince Ferdinand, now King of Spain, and proposed by the Prince himself:—"To the health of our august sovereigns, the Great Napoleon, and Maria Louisa his august consort!"

CHAPTER XVI.

Visit of their Majesties to Belgium.—Triumphal arch in a village.—Return to St. Cloud.—Duke of Rovigo.—Fouché.—Ball of Prince Schwartzenberg. — Abdication of Louis, King of Holland.—Junot's presence of mind.—Decennial prizes.—History of Fenelon.—The addition of Holland to the Empire.—Madame de Montesqiou—M. Dubois.—Canova.—Communication to the Senate.

THEIR Majesties set out on the 27th of April, to visit some of the northern departments, in order to afford Paris, and all the great bodies of the state, the necessary time for preparing the fêtes which the occasion required.

It was a triumphal march: the provinces hailed with acclamation their young and beautiful sovereign. In the midst of these splendid marks of homage, that rendered to Maria Louisa by a little hamlet was conspicuous. Its triumphal arch was remarkable for one of the most simple inscriptions; on the front was

written; "Pater Noster," and on the reverse; "Ave Maria, gratiæ plena." The curate and the mayor presented wild flowers. Flattery could not offer itself under a more pleasing form.

Le Moniteur Secret, which was published in 1815, has assigned to me a part in a scene which took place, it is said, on board a vessel in a Belgian port. It is mistaken; my health prevented my enjoying the honour of accompanying their Majesties in that expedition.

Their Majesties arrived at St. Cloud on the 1st of June, at nine in the evening. A few days afterwards, General Savary was appointed minister of police, in the room of Fouché, who had been appointed to the government of Rome.

The rest of this month was devoted to public fêtes and rejoicings; they were terminated by a dreadful catastrophe.

Great preparations had been ordered by Prince Schwartzenberg, the Austrian Ambassador, for the fête which he gave their Majesties, on the 1st of July. The suite of rooms on the ground floor of the Hotel de Montesson, which he occupied in the Rue de la Chaussée d'Antin, not being sufficiently extensive, his architect had built a large wooden ball-room at the end of the other apartments, which was approached

by a wooden gallery. The ceilings of this gallery were covered with paper, well varnished and ornamented with figures and pictures of various kinds. The floors of the ball-room and gallery, raised to a level with the other apartments, had timber supports; an enormous lustre was suspended from the ceiling of the ball-room; the two sides of the gallery and every part of the ball-room were lighted by smaller lustres placed against the walls. An alcove, raised above the rest, was reserved for the Imperial family, in the centre of the right side of the ball-room. Behind this raised building, on one side was a little door for the particular use and convenience of their Majesties. The fête commenced with dances performed in the garden, by the first dancers at the opera, in the midst of a magnificent illumination. The company then repaired to the ball-room, where they danced for about an hour, when a current of air blowing one of the curtains placed at the windows of the wooden gallery against the wax lights, which unfortunately were too near, the curtains took fire. Count Dumanoir, the Emperor's chamberlain, and M. Tropbriant, endeavoured in vain to extinguish the fire, which quickly reached the ceilings of varnished paper. In less than three minutes the fire, like a train

of fire-works, gained the ceiling of the ball-room, and all the ornaments with which it was decorated.

Prince Schwartzenberg forgot all personal anxiety, and busied himself only concerning the safety of the Imperial family, who quickly escaped by the private door, which had been provided behind the elevated building which they occupied. As soon as Napoleon reached the court-yard, he hastened the arrival of the carriage, and set out with the Empress. As soon as he reached the *Place Louis Quinze*, he changed coaches, ordered them to drive the Empress to St. Cloud, and returned himself to the ambassador's palace, in order to contribute by his presence and orders, to the getting under the conflagration. The fragile and miserable building, already a prey to the flames, was entirely consumed before the engines could arrest their progress. As I happened to be very near the garden gate, I easily escaped among the first with the ladies who were with me. I was scarcely in the garden, when I heard the grand lustre fall with a tremendous crash; cries of grief and terror mingled in this scene of horror. The crowd who pressed and almost smothered each other, rendered escape still more difficult; the floor of the ball-room could not

bear this, it gave way, and numberless victims were crushed to pieces, and destroyed by the fire which surrounded them on all sides; and in the garden—what cries!—what tears!—The mother, with bitter sobs, called on her daughter, the wife on her husband, the husband on his wife, the daughter on her mother, the friend on his friend: heart-breaking groans were the only answers to so much agony and grief. In a few minutes the flames had entirely destroyed a place which a short time before resembled an enchanted palace, and contained all the grace and beauty of France,—when all of a sudden, in the midst of the burning wreck, and when all was silent as death, a beautiful young woman, of an elegant figure, covered with diamonds, rushed forward deeply agitated, and uttering the most sorrowful and heart-rending cries—the cries of a despairing mother. . . . This afflicting apparition was as rapid as lightning breaking through a cloud. . . . In a moment afterwards the beautiful Princess Schwartzenberg was no more;—and her young family were in the garden sheltered from all danger!!!

The presence of Napoleon, his instructions, and the assistance rendered by his orders to those who survived, though severely injured,

contributed greatly to the saving of some who must have fallen victims. Prince Kourakin, closely pressed by the crowd, and almost overwhelmed with the matter from the fire which fell on him, owed his life to his beautiful gold stuff coat, from off which the burning fragments slid to the ground. He was however dreadfully burnt, and suffered much for three months afterwards.

Prince Schwartzenberg, assured of the Imperial family's safety, gave way to his grief. Large tears fell from his eyes: he was so occupied with the misfortunes of others, that he did not see his family assembled round him. . . . . He was aware only of what he had lost—his unfortunate sister-in-law. Disconsolate, and unhappy to the highest degree, he retained his whole life a feeling of sorrow and melancholy which nothing could remove. When we call to mind that in similar circumstances the fêtes for the marriage of Louis XVI., when Dauphin, were changed into mourning, we are tempted more than ever to think, that Providence reserves its most dreadful catastrophes for persons of the highest rank.

On the 5th of July the abdication of the King of Holland was publicly known. This Prince, whose health was very bad, was be-

sides much annoyed on the one hand by the representations of the Dutch traders, who, suffering from the consequences of the continental blockade, entered into hazardous smuggling speculations; and on the other, by a multitude of French custom-house officers, who had invaded all his sea-coasts, under the protection of a powerful body of men; thus situated, he took the resolution of abandoning the throne to live in the obscurity of private life, first in Switzerland and then at Rome. His ill health may be dated from his very youth. I recollect that when I was at breakfast with Napoleon at Verona, in 1805, he said to me: "Poor Louis! it was here, in this very town, in one of our first campaigns in Italy, that he experienced the most fatal accident. At one o'clock in the morning, a woman, whom he scarcely knew, broke into his house; since which occurrence, he has been affected with nervous agitations, varying with the atmosphere, for which distressing malady he has never been able to obtain a remedy." During this same breakfast, following the train of his recollections, the Emperor chanced to speak of General Junot, and related the manner in which he became acquainted with him. At

the commencement of his brilliant career, at the attack of a place, of which I forget the name, Napoleon arriving near a company of grenadiers much exposed to the enemy's fire, wishing to give a very urgent order, desired Captain Ragois, who commanded this company, and was one of the bravest soldiers in the army, (the same who was afterward undergovernor of the palace of Fontainebleau,) to write what he should dictate. Ragois, who was master of the art of war, but had no inclination for writing, replied that he would go and call the genius of the company. "Junot! Junot! come forward out of the ranks."—Junot came, took the pen and paper, placed one knee on the earth, and wrote as Napoleon dictated, without the Emperor's getting off his horse: at the moment Junot finished writing, a cannon-ball passed between Napoleon and him, and breaking up the ground, caused the dust to fly over the paper which Junot held on his knee: Junot got up laughing, and making a low bow to the cannon-ball, said: "We should be polite to all the world, and I am much obliged to this cannon-ball for having spared me the trouble of stopping to gather up the dust." The sprightliness and

courage of Junot delighted Napoleon, he placed him near his person, and afterwards!!!.....

At this same period appeared the different reports of the commissions charged with proposing the best works for the decennial prizes—a great and noble idea which was not followed up. The biographical prize was decreed to the History of Fenelon, by my uncle, formerly Bishop of Alais, who had undertaken a work from the manuscripts of the Archbishop of Cambray. These manuscripts had not been printed; they belonged to the Marquis of Fenelon, whom I knew very well, and who was great-grand-nephew of that illustrious prelate. He was a man of pleasure, of a very amusing turn of humour, much addicted to play, and a lover of high living. Through a whim of nature he resembled in features his ancestor, of whom he had a little bronze bust placed on his parlour mantel-shelf. "If that good man were still alive," he would often say to me, "I am persuaded, that notwithstanding the extreme gentleness of his character, he would begin each day by giving me the bastinado — and he would be quite right," he added, laughing. This nephew, so little like in morals to the virtuous prelate who

had rendered his name so illustrious, had given these manuscripts in pledge to a bailiff to whom he owed a certain sum of money. It happened, fortunately, that this man was more honest and delicate than could have been expected, and that he constantly refused to sell these manuscripts either to government or to foreigners, for fear they should be made a bad use of, for they in fact contained things of a very delicate nature in more respects than one. This bailiff, then, would not deliver them, except to a well-known person, whose character would be a sufficient security for the good use he would put them to. M. l'Abbé Emery, the Superior of Saint Sulpice, and one of my uncle's great friends, joined with another person, whose name I forget, to purchase these precious manuscripts in my uncle's name, who engaged in the affair, on condition that he should have the reading and arranging of these papers, and be allowed to publish what he should deem useful and interesting, but be entirely exempt from all the expenses of the printing, and derive no profit from the sale; he wished for nothing but the pleasure and merit of the work. At first my uncle was quite alarmed at the frightful chaos and perfect confusion in which these papers were de-

livered to him. He passed several years in classing this confused mass of matter; and it was not until after reading, considering, and comparing one part with another; after connecting the parts which were separated, and putting dates according to the most probable conjectures, that he began to know any thing of the matter. But this great task of arranging was merely a preliminary work. I have reason to think that when he had thus arranged and studied these precious manuscripts, he judged it impossible for him to publish the most interesting parts of them. I had frequently glanced at some of these manuscripts, when in the possession of the Marquis of Fenelon, who, before pledging them, used to keep them heaped one on another in a wooden-box. I had found in them things bold in politics, and which if handled by evil-disposed persons might have served, when detached, to justify principles which were doubtless foreign to the heart and opinion of Fenelon. But the wisdom and judgment of my uncle made him omit all that might have been misinterpreted. He devoted himself to this work with the more pleasure, because he was responsible to no one, and he could amuse himself with it at his leisure for some years; besides which it was suited

to his character, and was not objectionable either on political or religious grounds. He was still more pleased with this employment, from the idea which he entertained that we can become intimately acquainted with great men, only by their private correspondence, and the freedom with which they open their hearts in the bosom of friendship; persuaded that the public will never be acquainted with their thoughts and weaknesses, although a thousand examples ought to show them that their correspondence is always made public at last. In fact, there exists in the public actions, and in the works of the most illustrious personages, a certain pomp of circumstance which is but too often nothing more than a deceitful cloak. We know them better by gliding into the private emotions and feelings of their hearts, when they are divested of all motives of interest, ambition, or vanity. It is this mode of judging the actions of celebrated men, which for some years back has rendered autograph letters so valuable.

Holland was annexed to the French empire. I merely mention this circumstance because it was the cause of a journey which we took in the month of September, 1811. The

arch-treasurer, the Duke of Placentia, was sent thither in the quality of governor-general; he dispatched from thence a cargo of petitions and addresses of all kinds, which were followed by a grand deputation.

25th September, 1810.

Two months afterwards, the court was at Fontainebleau, and it was already whispered that the Empress was with child. The appointment of the Countess de Montesquiou to be governess of the royal infant, gave a perfectly official appearance to this great event. A good daughter, a good wife, a good mother, and a faithful friend, the Countess de Montesquiou had long since acquired great respect and consideration; her mind was matured by instruction, and her character was solid. She was one of those persons to whom duties are necessary, and well worthy in every respect of the important functions with which she was entrusted. This was one of Napoleon's own appointments.

The celebrated Dubois was appointed surgeon-accoucheur to the Empress.

It was during our stay at Fontainebleau, that I became acquainted with Canova, who had

been sent for to model the bust of the Empress. The marble bust was finished at Rome, in 1814. It must be now at Parma; 30,000 francs were to be paid for it. Already a passionate admirer of so great a genius, of whom I had seen so many masterpieces, among others the mausoleum of the Archduchess Christina at Vienna, which is equal to a poem for richness of composition and grandeur of thought, I became a still greater admirer of his simplicity and good-nature. It gives me pleasure to record in my Memoirs all the veneration and enthusiasm with which he inspired me.

At this time a rather whimsical decree, which was never executed, was issued: it was to fix the Pope's residence when he should come into France, at the palace of the Archbishop of Paris.

CHAPTER XVII.

Czernicheff at Paris.—Discussions with Russia.—Accouchement of Maria Louisa, in the presence of twenty-three persons.—The town of Paris presents a magnificent cradle.—Stay at St. Cloud, after the Churching.—A new-born infant is found; useless inquiries concerning it.—Departure for Rambouillet.—Journey to Cherbourg.—Napoleon tastes the soldier's soup.—Visit to the vessels in the harbour.—Passage to Chartres.—M. de Cazes.—Baptism of the King of Rome.—Sudden death of General Ordenner; anecdotes.—Stay at Antwerp and at Amsterdam.—The Empress visits the Village of Bruk.—Saardam.—Departure from Amsterdam.

THE Count de Czernicheff, aid-de-camp to the Emperor of Russia, came to reside at Paris on a secret mission, the real object of which was to observe the state of affairs. The cabinet of St. Petersburg already wished to relax the obligations to which it had consented at Tilsit and Erfurt, and felt its want of English products and the commerce of England. The pre-

sence of the Count de Czernicheff at Paris, was also a tribute to appearances for the purpose of maintaining the friendly relations then subsisting between the cabinet of the Tuileries and that of St. Petersburg. The latter conniving at the introduction of English merchandize into the Russian ports, had authorized smuggling, and violated all the treaties which had been signed and ratified. This want of faith was the first cause of war against Russia.

That power likewise had not seen without alarm, the family-union which so closely connected the courts of Vienna and Paris. The Count de Czernicheff, under a light and trifling appearance, concealed a firm, bold, and enterprising character; as the result proved. Another object of his mission, which was necessarily connected with that which I have just named, was to ascertain by every possible means the real military power of France, in order that the defence might be proportioned to the attack, which the cabinet of St. Petersburg must have foreseen after the diplomatic injuries or neglects of which it had been guilty. It was during the journey of Count de Czernicheff from Petersburg to Paris, that is to say, on the 31st of December, 1810, that the Emperor Alexander, under the pretext of enhancing the

value of paper-money (the rouble had fallen in the month of August of the same year, to 70 centimes,) published the famous ukase concerning commerce, by which he prohibited the importation of all French and German manufactures, and under pretence of favouring the trade of America, opened the Russian ports to English vessels, which hastened to import their colonial wares under that flag: this was eluding the treaty. The aggression did not come from Napoleon. The premature occupation of the Duchy of Oldenburg by Marshal Davoust, who took possession of it without receiving any orders, was also an indirect cause of this war, but it did not take place until the hostile intentions of Russia were well known; this was a case for the employment of every means of defence.

1811.

From the 1st of February, the Empress began to walk every day on the terrace of the garden of the Tuileries, which runs along by the river. To render the approach of this terrace the more easy, it was opened to the ground floor, and in face of this opening there was a little door with an iron gate. Every one pressed forward to see the Empress, and offered the

most fervent prayers for her happy delivery. These walks lasted till she had gone her full time. At length, on the 19th of March, in the evening, she felt the first pains of child-birth: all the court, and great functionaries of the state assembled at the Tuileries, and waited with the greatest impatience for the moment which was to crown the wishes of France. Among the number who were present at the delivery of the young mother, were the Countesses de Montesquiou, Montebello, Luçay; Messieurs Corvisart, Dubois, and Bourdier, the Emperor's physicians; Messieurs Bourdois and Auvity, physicians to the Royal Family; the nurse, the nursery maids, &c. &c. The Empress's pains were very severe; they diminished at five in the morning, returned again more strongly at six, and terminated at eight o'clock, when a discharge of one hundred-and-one guns informed the capital, and the whole of France, that a prince was just born. The moment after his birth, as soon as he had received the customary cares and attentions, I saw him, carried by the Countess de Montesquiou, who was obliged to cross the room where I was to reach the apartments of the new-born prince. The redness of his face showed how painful and laborious his entry into the world must have

been. He still continued crying, which afforded us much pleasure, as it announced life and strength.

The whole of France shared our joy, and Europe hastened to add its congratulations. The town of Paris presented the young king with a magnificent gilt cradle, representing a vessel, the emblem of the arms of that great capital. This cradle is at Parma.

21st of April.

After the ceremony of churching was over, the Court took up its abode at St. Cloud.

The two Wednesdays on which were holden the two first councils of the ministers, two singular events occurred. As the council was to take place early and last a long time, it was Napoleon's custom to invite to breakfast all the distinguished personages whom he had convoked. On Wednesday, the 1st of May, Napoleon had hardly left the table, when the cord which suspended a magnificent lustre of crystal from Mount Cenis, gave way, and the table was broken to pieces.

The following Wednesday, during breakfast, I heard feeble cries, proceeding from a place where the tables usually made use of were kept, and which communicated with the kitchen and

other domestic offices by means of a staircase. When the Emperor returned to his apartments I went to visit this place with the steward: we found a new-born infant, but were unable to discover who had placed it there, or to whom it belonged. On my representation of this singular circumstance to the Grand Marshal, the infant was sent to the hospital well recommended. We conjectured that one of the numerous footmen might have concealed it in one of the large covered baskets employed for the purpose of carrying the articles necessary for the breakfast. But all our endeavours to arrive at the truth were unsuccessful.

25th of April.

King Joseph came to Paris to congratulate the Emperor in person; he was not comfortable in Spain, and he took advantage of this opportunity to come and repose himself in Paris.

The same day the Emperor convoked in a national council all the bishops of France for the month of June. A little time before, he had made a decree by the advice of the state-council, which rejected a brief of the Pope as contrary to the laws and ecclesiastical discipline of the empire.

9th of May.

In this month, their Majesties quitted Rambouillet, to go and visit the works at Cherbourg, which were just finished, and consisted in hollowing out a rock of granite to the depth of fifty feet. This vast and useful monument was due to the perseverance and genius of the Emperor, who had given the order for its execution some years ago. During our stay, he wished to go and breakfast on the pier which had been commenced in the unfortunate reign of the most virtuous of kings. It was beautiful weather: I arrived before their Majesties, and saw every thing properly arranged. The table faced the sea: it was easy to perceive the English vessels in the distance of the horizon; they were certainly far from suspecting the presence of Napoleon. There was always a formidable battery on this pier, which served to protect the fine port and harbour. I do not think that our neighbours would have been tempted to salute us more nearly, even had they been better informed.

As all private accounts of the life of Napoleon are of an interesting nature, I shall here take the liberty of relating what I witnessed, in order to show the great self-command he possessed. He had a greater repugnance than

any man I ever knew to any thing that was not extremely clean. The idea that there was a hair on his plate would have been sufficient to turn his stomach, and make him leave the table. After he had inspected the body-guard, and all the artillery, and made the latter go through part of their exercise, he ordered some of the bread and soup prepared for the soldiers to be brought him. He took a spoon, and filled it, when the first thing he beheld was a long hair: he pulled it out boldly, and swallowed the soup without showing the slightest disgust, not wishing to wound the feelings of the soldiers who surrounded him, by harsh observations on their negligence. He placed himself at the table which had been provided for him. At a given signal, the squadron, which was ready in the harbour, composed of three first-rate vessels, commanded by Admiral Fronde, advanced majestically, with its sails unfurled, and sailed slowly round the pier on which we were. Never did I behold a more imposing spectacle. The Admiral's vessel afterwards came as close as possible to the pier; the Vice-admiral came with his boat to take their Majesties and the persons composing their train: he conducted us on board his vessel in the midst of shouts of joy, which resounded

from the ships, dressed in all their colours, and the crews in full uniform.

While the Empress and the ladies who accompanied her reposed in the council-hall, Napoleon went into the interior of the vessel to inspect it; and, at a moment when we least of all expected it, he ordered a general and simultaneous discharge of all the guns. Never in my life did I hear such an uproar; I thought the vessel was going to be blown up into the air.

We left Cherbourg on the 3rd of June, and returned to St. Cloud, after passing a day at Chartres. Among the number of authorities whom the Emperor admitted to his audience, was the Assize-court, over which M. de Cazes, who was then only a councillor of the imperial court of Paris, presided. He delivered with grace and dignity a very remarkable speech. His health was then delicate; but when I had next the honour of seeing him, in 1819, he was fresh, active, and quite an altered man. The ministry and the favour of the court agreed with him perfectly; and I render him this tribute of praise with the greater pleasure, because I know that he never used his immense power but for the purpose of obliging. Under his ministry, all those who had ever been proscribed in a moment of exaspera-

tion, were recalled to the soil of their native country.

Magnificent preparations announced the ceremony of the baptism of the heir ~~presumptive~~ to Napoleon, and grandson to the Emperor of Austria. I mention this well-known event only for the purpose of relating a pleasantry which was talked of. It was said that the mayors of Rome and Hamburgh meeting accidentally, thus accosted each other; "Good morrow, neighbour." This trifling occurrence is the finest eulogium on the government; since it proves the union of action and power which directed the administration of such an extensive empire.

The council opened its sittings without coming to any conclusion. After a short stay at St. Cloud and at Trianon, the Court went to Compiègne.

30th of August.

A few days before our departure for Holland, General Ordenner, governor of the Palace at Compiègne, was suddenly taken off by a fit of apoplexy, while at his toilette. General Ordenner loved his family in a very remarkable degree. I recollect being one night at Pa-

ris with a very brilliant company, at the house of Count Rémusat; Talma and his wife played with admirable truth and earnestness the principal scene of Shakspeare's *Othello*. This great actor and his wife, dressed as people are in private life, excited a real, not an imaginary interest as on the stage. It was truly a family scene, a picture of jealousy in real life, followed by all the tragical consequences that that violent passion can produce. The effect was prodigious. Still moved by the distressing emotions I had just experienced, I went into a small parlour with General Ordenner, who was placed near the door. His agitation was still greater than mine: he was clenching his hands, like a person who suffers from a nervous attack. I asked him what was the matter: "It is that," said he, with his Alsacian accent, "it is that which I have just heard . . . I could with courage behold the death of my father, my mother, my children, . . . but that I cannot support." I related to Talma the strange effect which he had produced on this old warrior; it seemed to me that no eulogium had ever afforded him more pleasure.

I recollect another circumstance relating to General Ordenner. The Empress Josephine had once a fancy to go to the Opera, but in an

undress, and to take her place in the *loge grillée* under the grand box which was always reserved for great public occasions. General Ordenner, the first groom, accompanied her, together with the ladies and officers of her household. Scarcely half an hour after the ballet had begun, a powerful smell of essence of roses was perceived in the box, which insensibly spread to the stage and to all around us. This smell became so insupportable, that it obliged the Empress Josephine to quit the theatre with a dreadful headache, which lasted the whole of the following day. General Ordenner had pulled a bottle of this essence out of his pocket, and after pouring some on his handkerchief, returned it again to its place, but neglecting to cork it securely, it had run entirely out of the phial, and occasioned the odour which annoyed us. Certainly he was the last among us whom we should have suspected of so unfortunate an indulgence.

19th September.

The departure from Compiègne for Holland was made separately. Napoleon, wishing to visit some military posts on the coasts of Belgium, set out alone, one day before Maria Louisa, whom I had the honour to accompany

to the castle of Laken. The place of meeting again with the Emperor was Antwerp, whither we repaired. Among the splendid fêtes which were given during the three days that we passed there, I had the pleasure of seeing afloat a first-rate vessel, which had just been built in the timber-yard of that beautiful town. The Empress set out again alone from Antwerp, and did not join the Emperor until we arrived at the Dutch town of Gorcum. We stopped at Utrecht the 9th and 10th days of October; I there saw presented to Napoleon, among the administrative authorities, a body of Jansenists, of a serious and austere air. I always thought hitherto, that Jansenism was regarded only as an isolated and personal opinion; I was far from imagining that there existed a regularly constituted body who taught that doctrine. Napoleon asked the superior of these Jansenists if they recognized the authority of the Pope; he replied, that the Pope having declined all correspondence with them, they had been under the necessity of applying to the Archbishop of Dublin, whom they acknowledged as their immediate head.

11th of October.

Our entrance into Amsterdam was splendid,

and the people, whom report had made us fear would be cold and distant, on the contrary received their Majesties with the most marked sentiments of kindness and respect.'

While we were in this town, the Empress expressed a wish to see the village of Bruk, situated a league beyond the port of Amsterdam, on the borders of a little bason surrounded by flowers and turf always fresh, and communicating with the Zuyderzée by a little canal. This pretty village is built in a circular form; the houses are good, and the outsides are painted in *fresco*; the door and window-frames, the pannelling of the walls inside, and the staircases, are of white marble. The pavement of the streets is mosaic, and there is no hovel to spoil this beautifully uniform appearance, which altogether resembles a magic scene of the time of the good fairies. Naturally careful, these Dutch will not allow any carts, coaches, or even single horses to go on the pavement, which they preserve with the greatest possible particularity. Each house has two doors, the one for daily use, and the other, which is opened only on the event of marriage and on the death of a person, when his remains are to be transported to their

last abode. The Burgomaster himself broke through the austere rules of the public surveyor of the roads, and desired that the imperial carriage should pass over the mosaic pavement, and stop at his house, where he had the honour to receive and compliment the Empress. Her Majesty requested that the *fatal* door might be opened; we crossed its threshold with a vanity quite diverting, in the presence of many of the inhabitants, who did not dare to imitate us, and who were almost tempted to admire the courage and facility with which we went in and came out. After having praised every thing, admired every thing, and visited every thing, we left these honest people, who were charmed with the grace and kindness of their young sovereign.

The inhabitants of Bruk are all rich, and carry on a direct trade with Dantzick and Russia. The custom of using marble for ballast in their vessels, sufficiently shows the great abundance of that article.

October 24.

We quitted Amsterdam, and visited, in the midst of fêtes, Haarlem, the Hague, Rotterdam, the palaces of Loo, Nimeguen, &c. The Emperor stayed two days at Dusseldorff,

a charming town on the banks of the Rhine. I was there witness of a singular incident: according to his usual practice, Napoleon admitted to an audience all the authorities, civil, military, and ecclesiastical, and the leading men of all religions. In the number of the latter, was a Rabbi with a white beard, a hundred years old, who was so determined to see the Emperor, that he had caused himself to be carried to the palace. He entered the hall of audience, supported on one side by the *curé* of the parish, and on the other by the protestant minister. Was this the effect of chance, or was it intended to give the Sovereign a proof of the admirable harmony which reigned between the different religions in his States?

After having visited at Cologne the Chapel of the Eleven Thousand Virgins, and made our purchases at Farina's, we proceeded to Saint Cloud, where the Court remained until the 1st of December, when it fixed its residence at the Tuileries.

CHAPTER XVIII.

I read a translation of the English journals during the Emperor's dinner.—Departure of Czernicheff.—Journey to Dresden.—The Emperor and Empress of Austria, the King of Prussia, and the Prince Royal, repair to Dresden.—Stay at Dresden.—Departure of the assembled Sovereigns.—Napoleon sets out for the army.—Maria Louisa at Prague.—Residence there.—My journal of this residence.—Carlsbad.—Visit to the mines of Frankenthal.—Egra, Bamberg, and Wurtzburg.

In the month of January, on an evening appointed for one of those great court-circles where so much magnificence was displayed, Napoleon, on sitting down to table, put into my hand some written papers, telling me to read them aloud while he dined, because, as he was to hold his court in the evening he should not have time to do so himself. These papers were translations of English journals which were constantly sent him by the Duke of Bassano. At first I began with much confidence;

I soon however lost it, in reading the many harsh and disagreeable expressions which were employed in speaking of him. I was much embarrassed, because I saw the quick and piercing eye of Napoleon, and his sarcastic smile. My situation was rendered still more painful, because I read these papers in the presence of the Empress, the pages, the stewards, and a great number of footmen of all descriptions. "Read on," said Napoleon, whenever I stopped as if to take breath or usé my handkerchief; "read on, you will find plenty more." I endeavoured to excuse myself, assuring him that I was afraid of being disrespectful. He took no notice, but laughing, ordered me to go on reading. Glancing as well as I could, over the lines which I was about to read, in order that I might take from the violence of their expression, I arrived at a word for which I substituted quickly enough the title of Emperor. Bungler that I was, I gave him a title which the English newspapers had never yet allowed him. He desired me to hand him the manuscript, and read aloud the word which I had so studiously avoided, returned the paper to me and desired me to read on. Fortunately I met with no more embarrassing passages. On the same night I related my adventure to the

Duke of Bassano: "What would you have me do? The Emperor desires me to place before him a rigorous and literal translation of the English papers. I must obey him, since he insists on seeing every thing himself."

At this time all predicted a complete rupture with Russia. The Count de Czernicheff came to take leave of the Emperor at the palace *de l'Elysée,* and left for Petersburg immediately after the audience. Twenty-four hours after his departure, the police discovered the secret springs which he had employed to procure from the office of the Prince of Neufchâtel, and the war-minister authentic military accounts of the effective force of our armies. It was in vain that the telegraphs were put in motion, transmitting an order to stop him. It was too late, he had passed the frontiers, leaving behind the persons whose fidelity he had purchased, and whose lives he had compromised.

Their majesties left St. Cloud on the 9th of May, at half past five in the morning, and went to sleep at Chalons, at the prefect's hotel; the following day at Metz, and on the 12th, at the imperial palace at Mayence. The same night, the Prince Primate was received by their Majesties, who dined with him on the 13th at As-

chaffenburg and slept at Wurtzburg, at the Grand-duke's; they had passed through Frankfort, where the inhabitants and all the authorities had received them in the most splendid manner. On the very night of his arrival at Wurtzburg, Napoleon received a visit from the King of Wurtemberg, and from the Grand-duke of Baden. On the 16th, at ten at night, their Majesties arrived at Dresden, after having seen the King of Saxony, at Freyberg, whither that patriarch of good kings had gone to meet them. On the 17th, the Emperor and Empress of Austria arrived. The last time that these two Emperors saw each other, was by the fire of a bivouac in the plains of Moravia, after the battle of Austerlitz. On the same day, the Queen of Westphalia and the Grand-duke of Wurtzburg repaired to Dresden; on the 26th, the King of Prussia, and on the 27th, the Prince Royal of Prussia. The presence of so many august personages threw the Court of Dresden into a continual state of movement and gaiety, and the constant succession of fêtes, banquets, and receptions, must have proved a singular contrast to the quiet and easy life of these venerable sovereigns. It is as well, however, to mention that the judgment and foresight of Napoleon were such, that he always endeavoured to conduct things with

as little confusion and trouble as possible, and that he had given orders for all arrangements necessary to accommodate a numerous and distinguished assemblage. One day the assembled courts dined with him, and the next with the King of Saxony. The Empress was to keep up the same household during her intended residence at Prague. A part of the beautiful gilt service which the town of Paris had presented at the marriage, had been brought.

All that has been written about the cold manner in which the King of Prussia was received is untrue. He was received as he had a right to expect, and in a manner becoming a powerful ally, who by a late treaty, had united his troops to those of France.

I shorten all the ceremonies of etiquette, they are the same in all courts:—great dinners, great parties, grand illuminations; always standing, even during never-ending concerts; sometimes riding, waiting in large saloons, always serious, always on the look-out, and ever occupied either in performing duties, or settling pretensions and privileges. This is pretty nearly the sum of those pleasures so envied and sought after. The Court of Napoleon and

that of the late King of Bavaria, are the only ones in which I have beheld natural freedom of intercourse. On the 29th, the Emperor and Empress of Austria set out for Prague, Napoleon for the army, and the King and Prince Royal of Prussia left the preceding night for Berlin. The Empress remained some days longer at Dresden, in order to give the necessary time for her reception at Prague. During this time she went to see the charming valley of Tharan, breakfasted at the celebrated castle of Pilnitz, and then on to Kœnigstein, a fortress which is considered impregnable. It is situated on a very steep rock, near the banks of the Elbe. The Empress left Dresden on the 4th of July. At the Austrian frontier, Count Kollawrat, Grand-bourgrave of Bohemia, had the honour of being received by the Empress, as well as the Prince Clary, who was appointed to accompany her to Prague. On arriving, at midnight, at this Prince's palace at Tœplitz, she reposed two hours, and afterwards walked in the magnificent gardens attached to the palace. As these gardens were open to the public, a great concourse of spectators assembled in them; fifty young girls of Tœplitz, very pretty and well-dressed, presented flowers; open carriages were driving about

the environs, and to and from the baths; triumphal arches were every where erected, and the civil authorities ranged themselves around these arches; numerous orchestras, escorts of cavalry, compliments, addresses, and a continual noise, surrounded the palace. The Grand-duke of Wurtzburg accompanied the Empress every where; he dined with her Majesty, the Countess of Montebello, the Duchess of Bassano, Prince Clary, and Count Montesquiou. Count Kollawrat set out before dinner to take a letter to the Emperor of Austria, which the Empress had written to announce her safe arrival at Tœplitz. In the evening, after dinner, the Empress sat in the balcony of one of her apartments, to see two companies of miners bearing their lamps and instruments, and singing national airs in honour of her Majesty. This is a custom of the place, and a homage paid only to royalty.

July 5.

The Empress set out the next day; and, at half a league from Prague, was met by the Emperor and Empress of Austria, with their whole court, all dressed ready for a grand entertainment. Her Majesty got into her father's carriage; the Empress of Austria gave up the right-hand seat at the back, and the

Emperor of Austria placed himself in the front, with the Grand-duke of Wurtzburg. This splendid retinue entered the town of Prague in the midst of the firing of guns and ringing of bells; the troops and various bodies of tradesmen lined the way, and the houses were magnificently illuminated. In the apartments of the palace her Majesty found all the civil authorities of the town, the canonesses of the two noble chapters of the province, the personages of the court who had not formed a part of the train, and a numerous service of honour, which the Emperor of Austria had chosen from among the most distinguished of his chamberlains.

July 7.

Visits of ceremony. Presentations. Arrival of the Archduke Charles.—A grand imperial banquet was given in the Emperor of Austria's apartments; the Empress of France took her seat in the centre of the table, having her father, the Emperor, on her right hand, and the Empress of Austria on her left: this was always her place during the journey, whether at home or at her father's. She was served during dinner, at this imperial banquet, by Prince Clary, who had been appointed Grand-master of her household, and by four Aus-

trian chamberlains. The other sovereigns were served by their grand officers. After this ceremonious banquet, their Majesties withdrew to their apartments, and all was finished for that day.

July 8.

The Archdukes John and Charles came to see the Empress for the second time. Before paying this visit, these princes wished to receive the compliments of the officers belonging to the French household. The conversation was interesting; it was concerning the mineralogical wealth of Bohemia. I risked some observations on this subject, which I knew very little of; but there are certain common-place terms within the reach of every one. Those individuals, who, from their situation, are allowed to approach near to persons of so exalted a rank, are not the only ones who experience restraint and embarrassment. Princes themselves are often very much perplexed with the questions which their sense of politeness induces them to ask of persons on subjects of which they know nothing. The few words which I had hazarded on the geological wealth of Bohemia, sufficed to establish my reputation as a clever mineralogist; and as all the Archdukes succeeded each other in two days, and

gave each other hints concerning our different characters, it was my fate to be continually questioned on mineralogy by these august personages, who, fortunately better informed than myself, spoke of this matter in a much more learned and fluent manner. Delighted at having found a subject on which to converse with us, they paid but little attention to my short and prudent answers. This kind of glory, to which I had no pretension, was carried to such an extreme, that on the 26th of July, having accompanied their Majesties of Austria and France in the visit they paid to the magnificent cabinet of mineralogy at Prague, the Emperor of Austria, in my presence, desired his grand-chamberlain, Count Wurbna, to show me the most beautiful specimens. Unfortunately, Count Wurbna, unintentionally, I believe, presented to me a sample without telling me its name; he assured me it was very curious, and seemed to wait for my opinion. Reduced to the last extremity, I hazarded the first mineralogical word which came into my mind. "Oh, no!" replied Count Wurbna, taking the specimen out of my hand; "it is crystallized chrome." If I had not accompanied their Majesties on this visit, I should still pass at the court of Vienna for a very learned

mineralogist. Happily for my self-love, we were to set out in two days, and all the visits of the Archdukes were over when this happened.

In the evening the assembled Courts went in coaches to see the illuminations of the town. This ride, which was performed at the slowest possible pace, lasted five hours and a half.

July 9.

Repose, promenade, dinner; departure of the Archdukes Charles and John.

July 10.

Promenade; dinner with the Empress of France; went to the grand theatre,—a German drama by Kotzebue.

July 11.

Promenade; dined with the Emperor of Austria.

July 12.

Visit to the Imperial Library, to the Drawing School, and to the Mechanical Museum. The professors of physics attempted some experiments in which they did not succeed. The professors of chemistry were not more fortunate.

July 13.

The Archdukes Antony and Reynier arrived; we were presented to them. New ques-

tions on mineralogy when my turn arrived. In the afternoon, after dinner, there was a ball in the apartments of the Empress of France, in honour of the three young Archduchesses, sisters of her Majesty. It had at first been intended to give this ball privately, and, as it were, with closed doors, on account of the extreme youth of these beautiful princesses, but the Empress insisted that all the persons of her household should be admitted. This ball finished at seven o'clock in the evening, by a dinner at the Emperor of Austria's.

July 14.

As usual.

July 15.

The same.

July 16.

A promenade of seven leagues, to the Castle of Count Kotech. An excursion on the water. Return to Prague, and arrival of the Archduke Albert.

July 17.

Presentation of the Archduke Albert. More mineralogy.—The rest as usual.

July 18.

The Empress Maria Louisa rides on horseback in the riding-house of the Wallenstein hotel. Arrival of the Prince de Ligne. This amiable

prince possessed all the qualities which constitute the charm of society; he was witty, noble without being haughty, affectionate, polite, and graceful; his imagination was as lively as it was fertile, and his conversation, although kind, and in the best taste, was sprightly and animated; he was always rich in excellent bon-mots, jokes, and sallies of humour which amused without wounding the feelings or self-love of any one, striking anecdotes, and interesting recollections. His features were handsome, his physiognomy noble, his manners simple and natural, and his stature very tall. Every one liked him at first sight, and finished by loving him.

This day terminated by a grand fête given by the Grand-bourgrave.

July 19.

The same events. Arrival of the Archduke Joseph, Palatine of Hungary. More mineralogy. An audience granted to Madame Colloredo, her Majesty's former governess. Madame Colloredo is now Princess of Lambesk.

July 20.

As usual.

July 21.

Reception of the Princess of Mecklenburg and Hesse Homburg. A grand dinner, and

afterwards a grand dress-ball in an immense hall of the palace. Four hundred tickets distributed among the inhabitants of the town, even to all the canonesses of the noble chapters. After their Majesties' departure, a grand attack on the pies, hams, &c. &c. took place; this memorable siege lasted until six in the morning, and the company retired in the midst of a pouring rain.

July 22.

Her Majesty rode on horseback with the Emperor her father, who, perceiving with what pleasure she mounted the pretty horse provided for her, immediately made her a present of him. The Empress named him Haradshim, which was the name of the mountain on which the palace of Prague is built. The Archduke Albert left in the evening.

July 23.

Visit to the hermitage of Saint Yvan, six leagues from Prague, and to Carlsteim, an old castle, built in 1329, under the reign of the Emperor Charles IV. Return to Prague to dinner, at eleven o'clock at night.

July 24.

Representation at the grand theatre of M. Paër's opera of "Sargino." The Courts went thither in full dress. I find in my memoran-

dums (and it is no doubt seen that I confine myself to copying them), I find, I say, the observation I made about this time, that, at the Emperor of Austria's table, almost all the guests usually had arm-chairs, while at that of her Majesty there were but three; one for each of the Empresses and another for the Emperor of Austria. These important remarks made, I continue.

July 25.

Presentation to the Archduke Rudolph. Last conversation on mineralogy. It is to be observed, that the Archdukes, the Emperor's brothers, arrived successively in the order of their various ages. The Archduke Rudolph, the youngest of all, had very bad health; he was of a most gentle and amiable disposition; he painted with all the talent of an artist, and was an excellent musician. He is now a Cardinal, and Bishop of Olmutz, the most important see in the empire.

July 26.

Ball given by the Empress of France. Arrival of the Archdukes Maximilian and Ferdinand, brothers to the Empress of Austria.

July 27.

Grand banquet at the Austrian court.

July 28, 29, 30.

Grand illuminations and preparations for departure.

I am very sensible that the notes which I have here inserted are of themselves destitute of interest, but thought it right to do so in order to show with what attention and anxious regard the consort of Napoleon was received in her august family, and what a sentiment of homage and consideration he had impressed on all who surrounded him. I shall continue extracting from my notes. These were the last gleams of Napoleon's power abroad.

August 1.

Departure from Prague, with the Emperor of Austria; dine and sleep at Schœnoffen.

August 2.

Walk in the beautiful gardens of the palace, and sleep at Carlsbad. The Emperor of Austria dines with his daughter.

August 3.

Visit to the mineral springs; these waters are very beneficial to the stomach.

August 4.

Visit to Franckenthal. To the tin mines. The Empress, by means of an arm-chair, placed at the entrance, and guided by weights, descended to the depth of six hundred feet; all

sides being brilliantly illuminated. The arm-chair was drawn up again, and the Emperor of Austria and all the ladies descended also in their turns. The men descended by ladders which were placed there, and commonly used by the miners. I endeavoured to follow, but I found that my full habit of body required a less foggy atmosphere; I quickly returned, and in spite of my well-known taste for mineralogy, I seated myself quietly in the space outside the entrance. I pulled off the miner's frock, which you are obliged to put on in order to avoid the penetrating damp which the earth sends forth. This kind of garment is of black leather, and has nothing agreeable in it. It is a complete mask. The men who came up out of this abyss appeared like so many phantoms; the ladies only appeared still more fair and beautiful under this villanous dress. After each had laughed heartily at his neighbour, we went to breakfast at Schœnfeld, and returned to Carlsbad at six in the evening.

August 5.

Departure from Carlsbad; arrival at Frantzbrun; fresh mineral springs at the port of Egra; local dances and national music.

August 6.

On this day the Empress separated from her

father, whom she did not see again until the month of April, 1814, at Rambouillet, in the midst of Cossacks who guarded the palace. We slept at Bamberg at the palace of Duke William of Bavaria.

August 7.

Her Majesty arrived at Wurtzburg, where the Grand-duke, her uncle, received her with royal magnificence. After some excursions to the castle of Verneck, several water parties, illuminations, concerts, &c., which the Grand-duke directed himself, the Empress set out for Saint Cloud, where she arrived on the 18th of July.

CHAPTER XIX.

My preparations for the journey to Russia.—I am entrusted with the Empress's despatches, and with the portrait of the King of Rome, painted by Gerard.—Account of this celebrated artist.—Anecdote of the grand portrait of Maria Louisa.—Memorandum on the Emperor's projected embellishments of the Louvre.—My journey and arrival at the head-quarters, on the 6th of September, the eve of the battle of the Moscowa.—Napoleon opens the case which contains the portrait of his son.—Battle of Moscowa.

My first object on arriving at Paris, was to prepare for my journey to head-quarters. My horses and unpretending carriages had already been there some time. I was ready to set out, and went to take leave of the Empress; but this Princess wished to entrust me with the portrait of her son which Gerard had finished painting. Thanks to the complaisance and obliging behaviour of this great painter, this picture well packed up, was placed on the roof of my carriage, of which it took up the whole space. I seize with pleasure this op-

portunity of mentioning Gerard. I find among my papers a note which contains a full account of his works, and which may interest those who have not, like me, had an opportunity of becoming acquainted with his genius and the superiority of his talents.

Gerard's first work was Belisarius, and the enthusiasm it excited even among his clever rivals will never be forgotten. These suffrages must have inflamed his emulation; but unfortunately, having charges and duties to sustain, he could not then devote himself entirely to the historical style which delighted his imagination; he was condemned to work at a style more profitable than glorious, and he composed a long series of drawings for the beautiful editions of Didot. He painted portraits also. His success, and the many applications made to him, often from superior rank, brought upon him, unjustly enough, the reproach of sacrificing too much to this lucrative branch of the art. He might, however, have replied, that the features of the most celebrated personages of the age, which he perpetuated upon his canvass, naturally entered into the province of history. When he became less restrained by circumstances, he abandoned himself to the influence of his genius, and the world hailed with ad-

miration the appearance of his Psyché, and several historical pictures; and it is remarkable, that the value of his pictures was almost always tripled when they changed owners. This increase of value, if it did not add to the profits of the artist, served at all events to confirm the reputation of his works. The apartment called the family room at St. Cloud, contained the whole-length portraits of Napoleon's family, painted by Gerard; all excellent likenesses, and admirably finished and coloured. The noblest of his productions, at the period I am speaking of, was the picture of Austerlitz. It appeared absurd to fix it on the ceiling of the council-chamber; this difficulty did not stop him; he drew from it the double advantage of choosing a favourable point of view for the picture, and of adding some allegorical figures, in which his admirable talents shone forth under a new form. These colossal figures were Victory, Fame, Justice, and Poetry, unrolling and sustaining in the air an immense tapestry, in which the principal events of Napoleon's life were represented: the battle of Austerlitz was placed in the middle. Before the departure of Napoleon for Dresden, M. Gerard came to tell me, just as the Emperor was going to breakfast, that he had brought the whole-length portrait

of the Empress, which had been ordered, entreating me at the same time to inquire, when he sat down to breakfast, where he would have it placed, in order that it might be hung where he wished and in a favourable light. I received the Emperor's orders, who desired that it might be placed in the gallery of Diana, and I informed M. Gerard. After breakfast the Emperor went to seek the Empress, and they repaired together to the gallery, through the interior of the apartments. M. Gerard and I were waiting for them. Napoleon admired the striking likeness, and praised the great talent of the artist; but it being his habit always to make some observation, he gave it as his opinion that the white satin dress looked like a wet gown. Gerard remained silent, and I made bold to reply, "Your Majesty is quite right; and you have paid the highest compliment to this beautiful composition." Napoleon engaged most likely with other thoughts, took my observation for granted, and rendered full and entire justice to the minutiæ as well as to the general effect of this magnificent portrait. As soon as their Majesties had retired, Gerard thought proper to thank me. "You are satisfied with me," said I? "Well! I assure you I was not aware of the value of my speech. I spoke

at random and without reflection; with the Emperor you should never be at a stand. The great point is to elude a discussion which commences badly. It is always better to leave a favourable impression."

This portrait of the Empress holding her son in her arms, was painted by the order of the princess, who went herself to M. Gerard's painting-room to see the commencement of it. Maria Louisa was particularly interested about it, because she intended it for a present to the Emperor. This picture was placed in the blue room near his Majesty's cabinet.

After the presentation of this portrait, Napoleon conversed with M. Gerard very freely. I heard all that the most enlightened and well-directed taste could imagine for embellishing the inside of the Louvre: his intention was to invite all the genius of the age to unite in this design by new masterpieces. He told Gerard that he would send to him Baron Costar, superintendant of the public edifices, to consult with him on the most proper decorations.

I will spare you the details of my long journey. I set out, carrying with me the portrait

of the beautiful infant. From St. Cloud, till I reached the head-quarters, I found the road covered with soldiers, walking singly, or in companies; wounded men going into their houses, prisoners under escort, regiments of artillery, and all sorts of equipages; in short, a continual bustle: it seemed as if France, Germany, Italy, Prussia, Poland, and Spain, had given each other the rendezvous on this narrow passage. A multitude of persons employed, and idlers of all descriptions, encumbered the rear of the army; and it was not without difficulty that I reached his Majesty's tent on the 6th of September, at nine in the morning, after travelling thirty-seven days. I delivered to him the despatches I had received from the Empress, and inquired his wishes concerning the portrait of his son. I thought, that being the eve of a great battle which he had so longed for, he would delay for some days opening the case which contained this portrait. I was mistaken; eager to enjoy the sight of a person so dear to his heart, he ordered me to bring it to his tent immediately.

I cannot express the pleasure he experienced at the sight of it. The regret that he could not press his son to his heart alone detracted from so sweet an enjoyment His eyes ex-

pressed real tenderness. He called all the officers of his household, and all the generals who waited at some distance to receive his orders, that they might share the sentiments which filled his bosom. "Gentlemen," said he, "if my son was fifteen, believe me, he himself would be here in the midst of so many brave men, in place of his portrait." A moment after he added, "This portrait is admirable." He had it placed on a chair outside his tent, in order that the soldiers and officers of his guard might see it, and thence derive fresh courage. It remained in that situation all day.

M. Gerard made a copy of this beautiful work, and exhibited it the same year in the Museum. This portrait was perfectly well engraved. The young infant is represented as half lying in his cradle, playing with a little globe and sceptre.

During the Emperor's residence at the Kremlin, his son's portrait was placed in his bedroom. I know not where it is now.

I found Napoleon quite well; he appeared to me exactly the same in mind and body, and not in the slightest degree inconvenienced by the fatigues of so rapid and complicated an invasion.

As all that relates to military operations is quite out of my line, I shall merely relate what I myself witnessed. Placed there without desire for fame, or feelings of ambition, I was actuated by no other sentiments than those of attachment and gratitude. My services about the Emperor's person commenced on the very day of my arrival.

On the following day, the 7th of September, on which the bloody battle of the Moscowa took place, I was from five o'clock in the morning stationed near the officers who waited the orders of Napoleon. We were placed at the bottom of a redoubt which had been taken from the enemy the evening before; it was the spot from which all the orders were given. General Montbrun, one of our most distinguished soldiers, left us at full gallop, and burning with warlike ardour. He had just received an order from Napoleon to attack a formidable redoubt, placed in the centre of the enemy's army, which spread death in all parts. I cannot express the grief I felt, when Napoleon was informed, two hours afterwards, that this illustrious warrior had fallen under the enemy's fire, in the midst of a most splendid charge. I knew and loved my countryman Montbrun. He carried with him the

esteem, the attachment, and the regret, of the whole army: he would probably have received the staff of Marshal had he survived so much courage and glory. I was expressing my grief to Augustus de Caulaincourt, who formed one of our group, when the Emperor, looking our way, perceived him, and calling him to him, gave him the command of the brave troops, whom the death of General Montbrun had left without a head. He returned to us, his heart filled with a noble joy, in which I did not participate, for it penetrated me with the most sorrowful recollections. He ordered his horses to advance, embraced the best of brothers, bade us farewell, and was off as quick as lightning, followed by his aid-de-camp. And he also, at the head of fifty cuirassiers, commanded by their brave colonel, M. Cristophe, fell in this fatal redoubt, which was carried by assault, and decided the fate of the battle. He fell, leaving a beautiful young widow, to whom he had been united only some hours before his departure for the army. He was interred in this redoubt, the tragical scene of so many celebrated exploits!

On the morning of that day, so fatal and so glorious to the French army, some bullets

passed over the head of Napoleon, and the group behind him in which we were. He ordered General Sorbier to advance some batteries of artillery to protect us from them. Two hours later they appeared again, and we feared for a moment that the enemy had recovered his ground. By degrees the enemy's firing abated, and the expiring bullets rolled and stopped at Napoleon's feet, who gently pushed them away as a person would remove a stone in his path. He was talking to Marshal Davoust, who had just had his horse killed under him, and who, suffering from the shock he experienced in his fall, with difficulty followed Napoleon up and down the little space on which he went backwards and forwards. About two o'clock in the morning, the noise of the Russian cannon became distant. The redoubt once carried, the ranks of the enemy became disordered; they drew back, and fought so as to lose as little as possible. The victory was complete, the trophies immense: but pitiless death destroyed on the field of battle more than 50,000 warriors of all nations; of the Russians, it is computed, more than 30,000, without counting the wounded and prisoners.

At noon I asked Napoleon if he would

breakfast. The battle was not yet gained; he made a negative sign. I had the imprudence to say that I saw no reason why one should not breakfast when one could; upon which he dismissed me rather sharply. Some time afterwards he took a piece of bread and a glass of Chambertin, without mixing it with water. He had taken a glass of punch in the morning, because he had a bad cold.

CHAPTER XX.

Te Deum at Moscow for the battle of the Moscowa.—Custom of the Court of Vienna at the conclusion of a battle — Hurrah! of the Cossacks.—The Emperor visits the field of battle; orders concerning the wounded.—Mojaïsk.—The 14th of September before Moscow.—The Emperor's entrance into Moscow.—Conferences of the Cossacks with the King of Naples.—Philip Segur and I receive an order to visit the Kremlin.—First appearance of the conflagration.—This fire must be attributed to the Russians.

According to the return of the artillery we fired more than fifty-five thousand shot; the Russians fired at least as many; thus the tremendous noise which accompanied this memorable battle may be imagined.

About four o'clock Napoleon mounted his horse, and went to the corps of the van-guard commanded by the King of Naples. and to those of the Viceroy and Marshal Ney, who had fought so valiantly. At seven o'clock he returned to the tent which had been prepared

for him behind the redoubt which was taken on the 6th, and on the other side of which he had remained during the battle, in front of the enemy. He dined with the Prince of Neufchâtel and Marshal Davoust. His tent was divided into three parts: the first served as a sitting and dining room, the second contained his bed, and the last was a cabinet for his secretaries.

I observed that, contrary to custom, he was much flushed, his hair was disordered, and he appeared fatigued. His heart was grieved at having lost so many brave generals and soldiers. Doubtless he felt, for the first time, that glory had been too dearly bought; this sentiment, which cannot but do him honour, was certainly one reason why he refused to order the advance of the cavalry of the guard, according to the wishes of the King of Naples, the Viceroy, and Marshal Ney, who thought by that means to pursue the enemy, and render the victory more complete. Perhaps, also, more occupied with the grand *ensemble* of his situation than with the objects of detail which determined these brave officers, he carried his thoughts and plans beyond them. For my part, I cannot but thank him for having spared the chosen army which formed his guard, for it was to

this army that we owed our safety in the retreat; there we were again to find them, noble, great, generous, and faithful, alone preserving their arms in the midst of the despair which had seized upon, and overwhelmed all the rest of the army. At all events, the victory was so complete that the Russian army could not for a moment hope to defend its capital. This circumstance, however, did not prevent the Russians from singing Te Deums, for the pretended success of this lost battle. These Te Deums no longer mean any thing. Each party exaggerates and diminishes. In Austria, for example, every officer who brings news from the army, is commanded to assemble all the postilions attached to the neighbouring posts of Vienna, furnished with their little horns, after the fashion of a huntsman's horn, and thus to enter the capital with the most noisy flourishes. All these trumpettings of etiquette give no notion of the nature of the despatches, for often at the conclusion of this noisy parade, an order has been given to pack up the most valuable effects and to send them to Hungary, towards which sometimes the Court also has proceeded on leaving the temple, where a Te Deum had just been sung to thank God for a great victory.

The temples of St. Petersburg resounded with similar songs of triumph; and on the report of the English commissioners appointed to see to the proper application of the subsidies received by Russia, and the registering of the military operations, the Exchange at London was in high glee for twenty-four hours; but this joy was soon extinguished by the publication of the nineteenth bulletin, which announced our entrance into the capital of old Russia. As I am perfectly disinterested, my account may be believed. The army, instead of falling back as the English commissioners asserted, continued advancing, and overturned the last Russian body which endeavoured to stop us at Mojaïsk, three leagues farther than the battle field of Moscow.

I returned to the head-quarters, where we remained on the 8th. While we were reposing, an alarm was given towards noon, in consequence of the appearance of a numerous body of Cossacks, who, separated from the Russian army, had accidentally approached us. A slight movement sufficed to drive them back. An hour afterwards, Napoleon mounting his charger, and followed by an officer of his staff, rode over the field of battle. I followed, and on my way made some bitter reflections on the fatal

results of the quarrels of monarchs. Whole lines of Russian regiments, lying on the ground wet with their blood, showed that they had preferred death to retiring a single step. Napoleon collected all possible information on these sorrowful places, he even observed the numbers on the buttons of the uniforms, in order that his bulletins might be correct, and to ascertain the nature and positions of the corps put in motion by the enemy; but what he was chiefly anxious about was the care of the wounded. He ordered them to be carried into a large neighbouring abbey, which was converted into an hospital. We followed him into the great redoubt, the conquest of which had been watered with the blood of so many generous victims. Two of our party, abandoned to the most just grief, did not follow Napoleon, M. de Caulaincourt, and M. de Canouville; they turned aside, their eyes filled with tears, from this burial-ground which contained the glorious remains of their brothers.

We went to sleep at Mojaïsk, and beheld on our right and left fortified positions which the Russians had erected with the intention of defending themselves, but which the rapidity of our march had prevented them from occupying. Mojaïsk was filled with the wounded of both

nations. Several of our generals who had been at the great battle, and among others, Generals Belliard, Rapp, Nansouty, &c. were carried thither. At length, on the 14th of September, at midnight, we arrived at the gate of Moscow, without having met a single enemy. The vanguard, under the command of the King of Naples, penetrated into the town, and drove out the Cossacks, who without remorse were pillaging the few remaining inhabitants. Between the regular Cossacks and the King of Naples, a kind of treaty and cessation of hostilities took place in one of the principal squares; they asked and obtained some moments of respite, to gather together their men, and retire without committing any havoc; above all, they especially commended to the generosity of the conqueror a number of wounded whom they were obliged to leave behind. It was mistaking the character of the French army to doubt what would be their conduct, but unhappily the conflagration lighted by the Russians themselves, prevented their receiving that assistance which their situation required. While these humane negotiations were going on, the Cossacks, who had always seen the King of Naples dressed in a remarkable manner, exposed the first at the head of the van-guard, approached him with

respect, mingled with pleasure and admiration. This prince was the only one in the army who wore in his hat a large plume of white feathers, and who was dressed in a kind of grey Polish frock, made of linen cloth, and trimmed with sable. The King gave them all the money he had about him, and his watch, and when he had nothing more to bestow, he borrowed the watches of Colonel Gourgaud, his officers, and his aid-de-camps. (His liberality did not injure those who surrounded him, for they afterwards received presents of greater value than the articles they lent.) These Cossacks loudly expressed their delight, and declared that they were not astonished at finding one of the bravest in the French army one of the most generous.

Napoleon dismounted at the gate of Moscow, and stopped on the left, where the Russians had lined some works of defence with turf. He waited there for the van-guard to clear the town of any scattered remains there might be of the enemy's army; perhaps, also, he expected that some of the local authorities would present him with the keys of that capital. But the Governor Rostopchin had taken good care of all this. With the exception of two or three thousand banditti, the town was

deserted; all that could be done was to collect together from fifty to sixty individuals of all nations established for some time at Moscow, and who, far from having any thing to offer, came to beg asssistance and protection; for the Russians before their departure had first ill-treated and then pillaged them. Napoleon at length determined on entering the Faubourg Dorogomilou, where he established his head-quarters, in a fine house built of wood. The army bivouacked in this Faubourg, which is almost separated from the fine part of the town by the river Moscowa which crosses it. Count Philip Segur and myself had scarcely arrived, when we received an order, followed by a detachment *gendarmerie d'élite*, to visit and give an account of the Kremlin. We knew from the reports of the Russian prisoners, and from those of the foreigners established at Moscow, that, for some time back, fire-brands and combustible preparations had been made by a chemist, who was said to be a German, but whom we afterwards discovered to be an Englishman. This individual, seconded by a number of workmen, had been for a long time concealed in the castle of Woronzoff, a little distance from Moscow, under the protection of Governor Rostopchin. It had even been officially

stated for the satisfaction of the inhabitants, that an enormous balloon was there constructing which would hold fifty persons, who were to be charged with combustible matter, which they were to throw on Napoleon's camp; this story was believed by the Muscovites. What is much more probable, and indeed certain, is, that in this concealment was manufactured an immense quantity of flax soaked in tar, brimstone, and bitumen, in order to make the intended conflagration so fierce and so rapid, that it should be impossible to extinguish it; in fact, large quantities of these articles were found in all the deserted houses. The pipes of the stoves even of the Governor's palace, which was not burnt, and which was occupied by General Laborde, were filled with infernal little machines, whose detonations would have shaken down all the walls, and caused the death of all our brave men. I learnt this fact from Doctor Joanneau, who belonged to the corps commanded by General Laborde, and who inhabited the palace of Rostopchin during our stay at Moscow.

Happily all the large chimneys and stoves were examined, for the greater part of them were used for beds by the slaves of the Russian noblemen.

The preparatives for destruction were carried

to such a point of perfection, that it was not until we had broken up the faggots, that we discovered the powder intended to set fire to the stoves which contained them.

It was then natural to suppose that similar preparations were made at the Kremlin, the only suitable position for the Imperial head-quarters; but after a very exact and minute inspection, we were satisfied that there no longer remained any thing more of the kind, and that there was no danger. The Kremlin was a dull residence enough for a great sovereign: and perhaps Count Rostopchin flattered himself that Napoleon would reside at *his* beautiful palace; that was not the case, for on the report made by Count Segur and myself, the Emperor determined on taking up his abode at the Kremlin on the following morning. We returned thither at ten o'clock with the Emperor's attendants, to instal them in their offices, and prepare every thing for Napoleon's reception. As we could not in any of these journeys carry with us our domestics and carriages, Count Segur and I passed the night on chairs without undressing. We chose the apartment reserved for the Emperor, which had neither blinds nor curtains. I mention

these little particulars because they are connected with my recital. With such an uncomfortable bed, my repose, in spite of the fatigues of the day, was disturbed and much broken. Between twelve and one I perceived very powerful lights, though at a great distance; I approached the window, and I distinctly saw the flames rising from every point which the situation of the Kremlin allowed me to behold. The distance at which these fires developed themselves, and their regularity of distance from each other, completely destroyed the idea which would have led me to attribute them to those plunderers who are the scandal and the misfortune of the best disciplined armies. I attributed them to the desperate rage of some savage Muscovites, driven to excess by the presence of their conquerors; besides, I judged that our marauders would have no occasion to go to the extremities of so vast a capital for the exercise of their robberies, a capital with which they were unacquainted, and which it might be dangerous to travel through at such an hour; in addition to this, all the army was encamped in the suburbs, and it was not until the following morning that regular orders were given for the occupation of the different parts of the town for quarters. The conflagration of Mos-

cow ought not then to be attributed to the French army, which never at any time marked its conquests by unnecessary disasters. I reject so frightful a celebrity, and leave the glory of it to those who merit it. Barbarians, only half civilized, conceived, prepared, commanded, and executed the plan, and even then they paid a sort of homage to the French character, by carrying with them all the engines which we might have used to extinguish the flames.

CHAPTER XXI.

Moscow and the Kremlin.—Progress of the fire.—Napoleon leaves the Kremlin and goes to Petrowski.—Two days after, he returns to the Kremlin.—Private concerts at the Kremlin.—Truce.—Breaking of the Truce.—The Emperor wishes to pass the winter at Moscow.

We had no idea of the magnificence and immense extent of Moscow. Concealed in the northern regions, it was little known by Europe, but its population amounted to 300,000 souls. If the spacious grounds which are formed into gardens attached to the numerous palaces of Moscow, were built over in the same manner as Paris is, this town, such as it was when we entered it, could easily contain a million of inhabitants. The architecture of the palace, which the flames continued to envelope, was a mixture of the Italian, French, and Oriental styles. The palace Pascoff among others, situated opposite the Kremlin, the exterior

walls of which had not been injured by the fire, presented a combination of all the known orders of architecture; it was crowned by balustrades after the Italian fashion, mixed with stands bearing statues of white marble, which, placed alone on the most elevated parts, in the midst of ashes and ruins, appeared like accusing witnesses. The variety of decorations, although carried too far, still produced an agreeable effect.

The Kremlin is not a palace: it is, properly speaking, a harmless citadel built on a very high eminence, on the borders of the Moscowa. It contains fine establishments, great barracks, a superb arsenal, magnificent churches, and a paltry habitation for a sovereign so powerful as the Autocrat of all the Russias; a thin wall with battlements, is its military defence. A stone bridge thrown across the river, leads to a fortified door, placed in the angle of a large piece of ground, which serves for a public square and not for a court to the palace; at the end, and quite at the back of this square, to the left, is a great staircase in the open air, without ornament or decoration, very long, and quite straight, called the red staircase, which conducts to a large common-place terrace, level with the apartments destined for the residence of the Czars. These apart-

ments consist of three great rooms, a state bed-room; and a large hall on one of the sides, called the Czar's hall. The kitchens, and the stables, are placed underneath the terrace and the palace. The exterior of this palace is extremely mean and irregular. There is not a nobleman at Moscow that is not better lodged than the Emperor. After ascending the red staircase I have mentioned, when you arrive on the terrace, you see on the left the palace of Peter the First, built when the art was yet in its infancy, long since deserted; and which we left to the subalterns, notwithstanding the frieze with its ornaments in relievo, was still brilliant with gilding. The arsenal, a modern building, commenced in the reign of Peter the Great, and since finished by his successors, situated in the square, almost in sight of the palace, is decorated in a manner analogous to its use. Immense bronze mortars mark its limits, and two gigantic cannons, planted upright at each side of the principal door, form a very remarkable kind of column. The great church of Yvan, with its Grecian crosses, its chains, and its gilded domes, had a very beautiful effect when lighted by the sun.

From two to three hundred incendiaries were taken in the *flagrant* act, and delivered

up to a military commission. They were principally slaves, prisoners liberated by stealth, and people of the lowest class. In their opinion the conflagration was not sufficiently rapid; so they lighted through the windows of the houses, the inflammable substances which had been prepared in them. These wretched creatures would have done quite as well had they trusted for success to the north-east wind which blew with violence two days after our arrival, instead of exposing themselves to the danger of which they were the victims. So quickly did the fire communicate from house to house, that in one morning, Count de Turenne and myself, who always travelled together, were obliged to change our abode three times: we had hardly established ourselves, when the fire drove us out. Generally the fire broke out, at the top of the house: the flames and sparks, fanned by the wind, heated and set fire to the roofs, for the most part covered with iron. The fire reached the rafters and timber on which these coverings were placed, so that there no longer remained any means of preservation; it was absolutely necessary to fly from this burning stream, which destroyed and consumed every thing. At length, we fixed ourselves at a house opposite the Kremlin, which alone remained entire in the midst of those which sur-

rounded it; our horses were well lodged, and we were now tolerably well accommodated: our servants, as usual, paid a visit to the cellars. They dug up some bottles, and brought them into a kind of kitchen, in the presence of Count de Turenne and myself. His valet-de-chambre was the taster. There were several bottles exactly like each other; they were of the same shape, filled with liquid of the same colour, and corked with the same kind of cork. The manner in which the Count's valet tasted the contents of the different bottles, was by pouring a little of the liquid into his hand, which he did without the least precaution. In the midst of this operation, he screamed out loudly, spit back the liquid which he had just put into his mouth, and made horrible faces. It was *aqua fortis;* the poor fellow's hand and mouth were dreadfully burned. This occurrence had at all events the advantage of teaching our people more prudence. Count de Turenne and I took our meals at the palace; we were consequently strangers to the pranks of our valets. I only mention this circumstance to give some idea of the various modes of destruction prepared for us.

At the end of three days, the progress of the fire, which had had time to kindle, became so

violent, that it reached the enclosure of the Kremlin: it even attained the arsenal, which was particularly watched, and filled with ammunition.

The sappers belonging to the guard got the fire under. But as so dangerous an accident might occur again, it was thought prudent to remove, in order to give the flames time to destroy all that yet remained unconsumed. The Emperor determined on leaving this place. The Quarter-master-general received an order to encamp round Petrowskoy, a kind of Turkish pavilion belonging to the Emperor of Russia, situated two leagues from Moscow, on the banks of the river Moscowa, and which did not even contain a chair to sit on. On our way thither, we were obliged to pass through streets which were burning, and pouring forth torrents of flames and smoke blown by the wind. We were compelled to have guides in order to travel through Moscow with some little safety, as one is obliged at sea to take pilots, to avoid the rocks of a dangerous and unknown coast. Never did I behold any thing grander than the dreadful sight presented to my view by this immense curtain of flames, agitated by the wind, and by the glare of which we could read that night at Petrowskoy, without any

other light. As the most cool and deliberate consideration had presided at the distribution of so many modes of destruction, brimstone, bitumen, spirits of wine, brandy, &c. &c., varied the shades and colours of the flames according to the nature of the combustible matter which they met with. If by an unfortunate coincidence, the inundation of the Baltic, which overflowed the town of Petersburg some years afterwards, had happened during our stay at Moscow, a thing not at all impossible, the destruction of these two great Russian capitals, the one by water, and the other by fire, would have been the most serious event in the calendar of the world, and would have produced a prodigious effect on a people naturally superstitious.

We passed two days at Petrowskoy, after which the danger being over, Napoleon returned to the Kremlin. We found our habitation in the state we had left it, and re-established ourselves there with perfect confidence.

As there was no distribution of forage, I sent two of my people, with a company of cavalry and several horses, to bring what was requisite for several days; scarcely had they gone two

leagues, when, while busily engaged in collecting some hay, a multitude of Cossacks fired at them, with tremendous hurrahs. My servants, who were of as peaceable a temper as myself, immediately fled, galloping away as fast as they could, without the provender, and leaving behind them in their flight the horses which they had taken with them for the purpose of carrying the stores.

After the peace of Tilsit, which had facilitated the intercourse between France and Russia, there existed at Moscow a company of French actors under the direction of Madame Bursay, a woman between forty-five and fifty, of a firm and courageous character, and possessed of much good sense. The Russians, on leaving their capital, were not at all anxious, as we have already seen, concerning the fate of their unfortunate countrymen. Sacrificing as they did their own wounded, it was to be expected that they would equally neglect foreigners; but as this indifference, so easily to be explained, was not confined to contempt, our poor actors were first robbed by the Russians who fled, and then by our soldiers who arrived, and who gave themselves but little concern as to the nation they belonged to.

The fire crowned their misfortune. I mentioned them to the Emperor during his breakfast. He ordered that they should receive instant assistance, named a person to superintend their concerns, and desired me to inform myself whether it would be possible, in the present state of the company, to get up some plays for the amusement of the army cantoned in Moscow. I began without loss of time to procure them dresses and a place to act in. The military authorities had collected in the mosque of Yvan all that had been saved from the flames; and, thanks to the politeness of Count Dumas, Intendant-general of the army, I found in this mosque dresses of all kinds. The French actors took from thence dresses and coats made of velvet, which they cut to the proper size, and ornamented with large borders of gold lace, of which there was a great abundance in the magazines. They were really very splendidly attired; but such was their distress, that some of the actresses under these fine dresses had hardly the necessary linen; at least, so Madame Bursay informed me. I discovered a pretty little theatre in the hotel Posniakoff not in the least injured by the flames. This private theatre, which was a little smaller than that of Madame at Paris,

was beautifully decorated, and furnished with every thing necessary. I took possession of it, and did every thing in my power to render the execution as perfect as possible. The theatre was opened with "Les Jeux de l'Amour et du Hazard;" followed by "L'amant, Auteur et Valet." This opening was splendid: there was no cabal either in the theatre, which was filled with military, or on the stage, where there existed no rivalry of interests, or self-love. The pit was filled with soldiers, and the two tiers of boxes were occupied by the officers of all departments. The orchestra was excellent, and consisted of the bands' musicians. The only expense was a trifling sum given at the door, which was divided among the actors after deducting for the lights. During our stay eleven representations took place. The same pieces were given several times; among others, "Le Distrait," which part was very well played by M. Adnet, a first-rate comedian. "Les Trois Sultanes," had great success, as had also "Le Procureur Arbitre," &c. &c. There was several times a kind of ballet performed by the Misses L'admiral. It was a regular Russian step, not as we see it performed at the opera at Paris, but as it is danced in Russia. The

grace of this pantomime consists principally in the play of the shoulders, the head, and the whole body.

Napoleon never attended these representations; I had found for him a recreation more suitable to his taste. Among the foreigners established for some years at Moscow, who had escaped the disasters of the invasion and conflagration, I discovered a skilful singer, named Signor Tarquinio, the same person who some time ago acquired such a brilliant reputation in the parts of the famous Crescentini. He had resided in Moscow for two years, where he taught singing. Madame Bursay recommended M. Martini as an excellent accompanist. He was son to Vincent Martini, the celebrated composer of *La Cosa Rara*, of *L'Arbore di Diana*, &c. The talents of these two persons afforded some amusement to Napoleon when he retired from the important affairs which occupied his attention. The forming, in so short a time, from among the ruin of all kinds which environed us a concert at the court, and a theatre in the town, was rather a curious circumstance.

I read in a German newspaper, that at the time of which I am speaking, the Emperor Alexander "had sent his brother Constantine

on a mission into Moscow, and that a Russian general had insinuated that he had lost his way, and that, in order to regain the right path he must, instead of continuing his route to the south-east, direct his steps to the north-west, the same distance he had already gone:" this article ended thus: "If his brother Constantine had persisted in the object of his journey, one of those accidents, not quite unknown in the history of Russia, might have happened to Alexander."

If this fact be true, and if I be not mistaken, it is natural to believe that the Emperor Alexander had a momentary inclination to enter into a negotiation for peace; but the opinion of his generals obliged him to continue the war. This journey of the Grand-duke Constantine coincided with that of General Count Lauriston, who was sent to the Russian head-quarters in the beginning of October: the only result of this visit was a truce of a few days, and some foolish conferences which meant nothing serious. One of the conditions of this short truce was, that each party should give three hours' notice before coming to battle; the reply to the propositions of Count Lauriston was a sudden irruption, without any previous warning, of a body of the

Russian army and a multitude of Cossacks, who, on the 17th of October attacked the cavalry of the front guard, commanded by the King of Naples. In this skirmish we lost a great number of excellent officers, and a train of twelve pieces of artillery, which were but ill-guarded, because we relied on the treaty. Among the wounded was Charles de Beauvau, a young man of great promise, distinguished for a most amiable character. His horse fell down in the engagement, when a villanous Cossack broke his thigh with a single stroke; he was fortunately rescued and carried to the Emperor's head-quarters, who gave orders that he should receive all the care and attention which his situation required.

M. de Berenger, aide-de-camp to the King of Naples, brought these sad tidings to the Kremlin. Napoleon, without being alarmed, was nevertheless much agitated the whole morning, and continued so until he gave his last orders for the departure of the army, which was to take place the very same night. He opened our room-door every moment, asked first for one person, and then for another, spoke with rapidity, and could not remain a minute in one place; he had scarcely seated himself at the breakfast-table, before he left it; in short, he

was so overwhelmed by his ideas, and plans that I could easily see, he had that day become aware of all the fatal consequences arising from so long a residence at Moscow. He had been informed of the signature of peace between Russia and Turkey, which left at the disposal of the first power a numerous army. He had heard of the peace between England and Russia, and also of the pacific interview which took place at Abo, in Finland, between the Emperor Alexander and Bernadotte; he counted little on the assistance of Austria, the auxiliary army of which country advanced but slowly; and he could not conceal from himself that the Prussians would withdraw their aid as soon as a favourable opportunity should present itself. On all sides he foresaw nothing but danger and perplexity.

Our preparations for departure were very soon finished. The army quitted Moscow on the 19th of October, at two in the afternoon. At the time of our departure, Napoleon had recovered his usual tranquillity; he was calm and confident, and continued so throughout our retreat.

The Emperor at one time intended to pass

the winter at Moscow: we had there collected a large quantity of all kinds of provisions, which augmented daily by the discoveries the soldiers made in the cellars of the houses which were burned. By a precaution easily to be understood, the Russians, on leaving the place, had walled up the doors, after having there deposited all their valuables, to preserve them from the flames, which they well knew were to be lighted after their departure. In these cellars we found a collection of various articles; flour, pianos, hay, clocks, wine, dresses, furniture made of acacia wood, brandy, arms, cachemeres, books elegantly bound, furs of all kinds and values, &c. &c. The churches were filled with them. Napoleon had so great an idea of passing the winter at Moscow, that he asked me one day at breakfast, to make a list of the actors at the French theatre, who I thought would be able to come to Moscow, without putting the company at Paris to inconvenience.

CHAPTER XXII.

Summary view of the retreat as far as Wilna.

I am going to offer some summary observations, to which I attach no importance, because they are without pretension, and relate only to my own manner of seeing and judging.

The Emperor, during our stay at Moscow, frequently read Voltaire's History of Charles XII. This book was constantly on his desk, and even on his dressing-table.

Some days before our departure, the large cross of Yvan, which crowned the golden pinnacles of the great church, was taken down. Vast companies of rooks, collected on the domes despoiled of their ornaments, seemed by their croaking to mourn their loss and proclaim the premature severity of the winter. This presage was but too true.

This cross was carried away because the Russians regarded it as the palladium which protected their empire. Napoleon intended to consecrate it as a trophy in the metropolis of Paris. If I have been rightly informed, this Grecian cross was thrown into the Berésina, together with other valuable but cumbersome articles.

We left Moscow reduced to a tenth of its inhabitants by the conflagration, kindled by the Russians themselves. This reduction is proved by the report made by the surveying engineers of the French army.

Orders were given by the Emperor himself for the removal of our sick and wounded; and they were carried into effect.

On the 19th of October, the day on which we quitted the ruins of Moscow, the weather was very fine.

The ephemeral fortifications of the Kremlin were slightly injured. This measure, purely formal, was adopted in order to leave evidence of the long residence of the army in that place. The Russian army, commanded by Prince Kutusoff, was beaten at Malo-Jaroslawetz, and driven back towards Kalouga; a glorious victory for the viceroy's army, and which enabled us to gain so much ground in

our retreat, that it was easy for us to remain four whole days at Smolensko without being annoyed by the enemy.

On our arrival at this last town, the continued severity of the cold had destroyed nearly half the *materiel* of the army, and nearly a third of the soldiers. Among those who remained, many had lost all strength and courage, being completely overcome by suffering and want; but the great mass was still brave and full of spirit. I do not speak of the generals, nor of the officers of all ranks. They were Frenchmen. Having said this, all eulogium is unnecessary.

From Smolensko, particularly after the butchery of Krasnoi, the army marched in dreadful confusion: all the ranks and companies were mixed, and, generally speaking, destitute of arms. They left on the roads the carcases of horses whose bleeding remains they had disputed with birds of prey, whole waggons, carriages half burnt, pieces of artillery of all sizes, which it was impossible to carry with them, equipages without number, coaches, open carriages of all descriptions, filled with the wounded and dying, who sunk under this weight of misery, destitute of provisions, and suffering

from an intense cold which hourly continued to increase.

Can these be termed triumphs? Were the brilliant stratagems of the enemy the means of causing these dreadful misfortunes? No; their glory consisted in gathering together those immense wrecks which cold and hunger compelled us to leave in the snow. If they made some of us prisoners, it was from among men who were separated, disarmed, exhausted, and frozen, and whom the sword of the Cossack struck without pity, because they were defenceless, and scattered in search of nourishment, which, after all, was not to be found in these frightful deserts.

The name alone of these Cossacks, even when none were present, created a sudden and involuntary terror. I have seen more than 20,000 men, seized with fear, fly helter-skelter at the cry of a coward—"There are the Cossacks!" I have seen them, filled with alarm, interrupt the calm and tranquil march of 4,000 warriors of the Imperial Guard, who still bearing their arms, marched steadily on without troubling themselves to inquire whether the sun still existed, and who with the consecrated squadron, composed of the valiant officers of

the army, commanded by Count de Grouchi, represented the honour, courage, and devotion of the different companies which no longer existed. Let glory be for ever given to this noble band!

From Smolensko to Wilna, the Guard had no other nourishment than some grains of wheat or barley, which were roasted on a stone at the fire of the bivouac, and their drink consisted of the snow which they dissolved at the same fire. Never did they utter a complaint, or a reproach, but were always faithful and obedient.

The deliberation, prudence, and wariness of the enemy, can only be explained by the magical influence which the name alone of Napoleon and his guard produced. The Russians, who had so often felt his power, imagined that he possessed great resources, and it was the homage which they paid to his genius that saved us.

However it is but just, in considering so many events, to place in the balance the great losses which the Russian army must have necessarily experienced. We are mistaken if we suppose that the inhabitants of these icy regions are not equally affected with ourselves by the severity of the climate. It is only by the greatest precautions that they preserve and defend them-

selves from its effects. The only advantage the Russians had over us, and this advantage was certainly a very great one, consisted in the facility with which they procured provisions for their men and horses. However their mode of supply was so slow, that we may conclude they themselves experienced great privations.

Had we been in the place of the Russians, I am firmly convinced that no person would have passed the Beresina. All, without exception, would have been condemned to submit to the most humiliating capitulations. Nay more, this passage being effected, it would have sufficed to have sent in advance of the retiring army some men with faggots and torches to set fire to and destroy in an instant those innumerable little wooden bridges, which form a causeway nearly four leagues long from the Beresina to Zembin; this having been done, the army weak and powerless, enclosed in impassable marshes in the midst of immense forests, covered with flakes of ice and snow, without provisions, would have been forced to pass under the *furculæ caudinæ*. Admiral Tchitchagoff had only paid attention to the road from Borisoff to Minsk, because he imagined that the Emperor intended to open a way towards that town where we had extensive magazines, and where

we should have been nearer to the auxiliary corps of Austria. Fortunately he neglected to occupy the road to Zembin.

It was not for the Russians to sing Te Deums. This was our part... not for victories gained... but for their extremely courteous pursuit of us.

I arrived in Paris on the evening of the 30th December.

CHAPTER XXIII.

New preparations for defence.—The Archbishop of Nantes at the levee.—Concordat of the 23rd of January.—Laws of the State for a Council of Regency.—Recall of Count Otto.—Count Louis de Narbonne despatched to Vienna.—The Empress's oath on being made Regent.—Prince Schwartzenberg and Count Bubna at Paris.—Departure for Mayence.—Napoleon's conversation at Mayence concerning the Concordat, and his opinion on the government of the Pope.

January, 1813.

Two days after my return from Moscow, I was at the Emperor's levee. I had not seen him since we were at Zembin. When he came near the rank in which I was, he asked me many questions as to the time and manner in which I left the army, and said, smiling bitterly, that I was probably the only one who had not grown thin in that long retreat.

A part of the month of January was employed in making grand preparations for defence; in ordering new levies, forming fresh armies, receiving and rendering available the innumerable offers of service sent in by the army; and, in short, in collecting a sufficiently large force to stop the invasion of the Russians, whose forces, since the defection of General York, had been augmented by the Prussian army. This political change had robbed us of 30,000 men, and added that number to the ranks of the enemy. The Imperial Guard was, as if by magic, reorganized and completed by the Duke of Frioul.

On the 19th of January, the Bishop of Nantes (M. Devoisin), for whom Napoleon entertained a particular esteem, and whom he employed as a mediator in the different discussions which took place between the Pope and him, remained with the Emperor after the levee. The interview lasted two hours. When this prelate left the palace, he went to Fontainebleau; Napoleon, according to his intention declared the evening before, entered his carriage with the Empress, in a hunting dress; his attendants were dressed in the same manner. He hunted in the park of Grosbois, and break-

fasted with the Prince of Neufchâtel. When he got into his carriage again, he gave orders to drive to Fontainebleau. No one expected this, not even the Empress. It was afterwards known, that before leaving the Tuileries, the Emperor had secretly given the necessary orders for himself and the Empress; but the other travellers, not being at all aware of this intended journey, were, as may be easily imagined, much perplexed as to their cloathes, &c. Couriers were despatched to Paris, but it was not possible for the indispensable articles to arrive until the following day.

The enemies of Napoleon have strangely calumniated the circumstances of this interview with the Pope; they have accused him of ill-treating the Holy Father;—nothing can be more untrue. That Prince paid him all the homage which he owed him; his plans and proposals were those of a man who respected himself; besides, the important points were regulated and agreed upon beforehand; there remained only trifling matters, which were easily settled, and possessed but little interest. Insults and outrages, therefore, must have been quite unprovoked. This last concordat was settled and signed on the 23rd of January, such as it was published on the 27th of February following. It was sign-

ed by the Pope freely and without constraint, in the presence of the cardinals who were at Fontainebleau. On this occasion there were exchanges of congratulations, rejoicings, distributions of favours and courtesies, holy relics, sanctified chaplets, crosses, decorations, snuff-boxes enriched with diamonds, &c. &c. In a word, this treaty of peace was accompanied by all the marks of reciprocal satisfaction. This is the real fact, exactly as it was related to me by witnesses worthy of credit, who were present with the Emperor the whole six days he passed at Fontainebleau. I was not of his suite during that week.

Caution was excited by the conspiracy of Mallet, and a wise foresight recommended the institution of a regency. The bases presented to the senate were adopted as the fundamental laws of the Empire.

Our military misfortunes, in spite of the expressions of good-will, and the conditions stipulated for in the treaty of the 15th of March, 1812, which had in view the perpetuation of friendship and good understanding, &c. created suddenly and without reason such a coldness in the Austrian cabinet, that Napoleon determined to recall his ambassador Count Otto, and replace him by Count Louis de Narbonne,

who, besides urbanity, the most exquisite of all the French graces, possessed great pliability and acuteness of mind. I do not mean to say that Count Otto had not as much merit as the Count de Narbonne; his manners, his politeness, and his great knowledge of affairs, were certainly distinguished: I only mean to remark, that the Count de Narbonne was agreeable and clever in another way, and had a mode of doing things which belonged to himself alone. Besides, it was wise to use those means which might have the most influence in maintaining amicable relations, and the Count de Narbonne might be more suited to negotiate with M. de Metternich, the sovereign minister of Austria, than Count Otto.

At the end of the month of March, Napoleon appointed Maria Louisa regent, and designated the exalted personages who were to compose her council. This proclamation was made in the palace *de l'Elysée*, the doors of the cabinet being open, in the presence of Queen Hortensia, the Queen of Westphalia, the ladies of honour of the palace, and the officers of their Majesties' household, among whom I was. After the reading of these state-papers, and the Empress's oath, we were desired to retire; and

the council, with closed doors, sat an hour longer.

In return for the Count Louis de Narbonne, Austria sent to Paris the Prince of Schwartzenberg and the Count de Bubna: the first of these always held the office of Austrian Ambassador at the French court; the arrival of the second was, in my opinion, an indication of the greatest difficulties. Under a simple and common-place appearance, he was certainly the most skilful and consummate diplomatist in the cabinet of Vienna. All these clandestine negotiations led to nothing. Far from placing at the Emperor's disposal the auxiliary body of 30,000 men, which had been promised by the treaty of the 15th of March 1812, Austria endeavoured to impose conditions, and to show herself encroaching. This auxiliary body did not appear again in our lines, until the moment when, by the most strange desertion, without any excuse, or any other pretext than ancient animosity, Austria appeared among our enemies, to overturn the throne of him, who had three several times permitted the reigning house to regain theirs, and to whom she had just allied herself by the most intimate and sacred ties.

I left Paris on the 8th of April, with a part of the household, to await the Emperor's arrival at Mayence. He quitted St. Cloud on the 15th, and arrived at Mayence on the 16th, at twelve at night. He remained there eight days, that the army might have time to form and distribute the new reinforcements which he had directed to march upon Erfurt; during his stay, he received a visit from the Grand-duke and Duchess of Baden, the Prince Primate, the Princes of Nassau, &c. &c. On the 22nd, the Emperor dined with Marshal Kellermann only. What I heard Napoleon say appeared so remarkable, that I immediately made a memorandum of it. They were talking of the last Concordat, signed the 23rd of January, at Fontainebleau.

"Would you believe," said the Emperor, "that the Pope, after having signed this Concordat freely, and of his own accord, wrote me word eight days afterwards, that he was very sorry he had signed it, that his conscience reproached him for having done so, and that he earnestly entreated me to consider the whole affair as null and void, &c. &c.? I replied, that what he required was contrary to the interests of France; besides, that as he was in-

fallible, he could not be mistaken, and that his conscience was too quickly alarmed," &c.

The Marshal laughed heartily. A moment after, Napoleon continued, without taking much notice of the effect his words produced, and apparently giving way to the overflowing of his ideas :—

" In truth, what was Rome formerly, and what is she now? Broken up by the imperious consequences of the Revolution, could she regain and maintain her power? In the political world, a bad government has succeeded the old Roman legislation, which, though not perfect, was calculated to form great men of all kinds. Modern Rome has applied to the political, principles which might be proper and becoming in the religious world, and has given them an extension fatal to the people's happiness. Thus, charity is the most perfect of all the Christian virtues. We must, therefore, bestow our charity on all who ask it. This is the kind of reasoning which has rendered Rome the receptacle of the dregs of all nations. You will there find collected, I am told, (for I have never been there,) idlers from all parts of the world, who flock thither for refuge, confident of finding plenty of food and abundant alms. Thus the Papal terri-

tory, which was intended by nature to produce immense riches, not only from its beautiful climate, and the many rivers by which it is watered, but still more from the excellence of the soil, languishes for want of cultivation. Berthier has often told me that you pass through whole countries without perceiving any marks of human labour. Even the women, who are considered the most beautiful in Italy, are indolent in this part of the country, and their minds are indifferent to the usual cares and employments of life; there is the effeminacy of Asiatic manners. Modern Rome is content with the preservation of a certain pre-eminence conferred by the wonders of art which her city contains. But we have a little weakened this distinction. The Museum is enriched with all the masterpieces of which she was so proud; and very soon the fine edifice of the Exchange, which is building at Paris, will excel all those of Europe, both ancient and modern. France before all! To return to the political world—what would the present Papal government be by the side of the great kingdoms of Europe? A succession of paltry old sovereigns, who attain the pontifical throne at an age when repose is the only thing to be desired. At this

stage of life all is routine, all is habit; they think only of enjoying their grandeur, and of imparting some of its advantages to their family. When a pope arrives at the sovereign power, his mind must be cramped by a long course of intrigue, and by the fear of making powerful enemies, who may in the end revenge themselves on his family; for his successor is always unknown. In short, he thinks only of living and dying quietly. For one Sixtus V., how many popes have there not been who engaged only in the most unimportant affairs, as uninteresting to the true spirit of religion as they were calculated to inspire contempt for such a government;—but this would lead us too far."

The Marshal replied, laughing, that it was much to be desired, that one of the statutes for the election of a pope should decree that the youngest cardinal was of right to be installed in the pontifical throne.

"I should like your idea well enough," replied Napoleon, laughing, "if too great energy in the character of a sovereign did not carry with it considerations of another kind. The only advantage that I should see in it would be the suppression of that political seraglio, commonly called the Conclave. I do not mean

harem; seraglio in the Oriental language means palace." So saying, Napoleon left the table.

The Emperor quitted Mayence on the 24th of May, and arrived at Erfurt at eleven o'clock in the evening. The Count de Turenne and myself received an order to remain in the former town, and not to join his Majesty until he should have reached Dresden.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Battle of Lutzen.—Personal bravery of the King of Prussia.—Conversation with Duroc at Dresden.—Death of the Duke de Frioul.—Property of the crown.—Survey of France; its population in 1813.—Armistice at Dresden.—Return of the Emperor.—Fouché despatched to Illyria.—French play at Dresden.—Remarkable changes in Napoleon's taste.—Mademoiselle Mars at the Emperor's breakfast.

THE battle of Lutzen was gained principally by the young conscripts. The intrepid Ney said to the Emperor, "Sire, give me some of those young and valiant conscripts. I will lead them whither you please. Our old warriors know as much as we do; they judge of positions and difficulties; but these brave youths are afraid of nothing, they foresee no obstacle, they look neither to the right nor the left, but always forward. It is glory that they seek."

This victory of Lutzen, which enabled the Emperor to resume the offensive, proved the

personal bravery of the King of Prussia. This Prince fought valiantly at the head of his regiment of guards, and was dragged, in spite of himself, far from the ground which he could no longer dispute.

Saxony was reconquered, and its venerable monarch, who had taken refuge on the frontiers of Bohemia, entered his capital.

The Count de Turenne and I, received orders to join the head-quarters.

We arrived at Dresden on the 16th of May. The next morning I conversed with the Duke de Frioul on the success of the commencement of the campaign, and we paid a just tribute of regret to the memory of Marshal Bessières. I shall never forget the last words of this conversation: "We have had rather too much of this," said he, "we shall all be carried off."

Some days after this, he was mortally wounded by a random shot, as the Duke of Istria had been. He lived some hours, carrying with him the consolation of having witnessed the profound grief of Napoleon, who would not leave him until he earnestly entreated him to do so.

I place among the greatest losses that Napoleon could sustain, the death of the Grand-

marshal Duke de Frioul. He was scarcely forty years old when he met his death. He was well-made, and his figure was not inelegant, his complexion was fresh and florid. His physiognomy was grave, austere, even revolting when he listened to a person whom he disliked, but gentle and agreeable in a contrary situation. In general, he was a great observer, because he was cold and serious. He had naturally a strong sense of propriety, and firmly opposed any thing he thought likely to violate it. Discretion and firmness were the first traits in his character. He had established the arrangements of his service, on a fixed, positive, and invariable plan. Reserved with regard to the advantages of his situation, his personal qualities, and his immense influence, he was never induced by them to show the least pride or vanity: he lived only to prove his entire devotion. The most minute as well as the most important details of the civil and military administration of the palace were familiar to him; his work was always clear, always easy. A rigid observer of the rules which he had induced the Emperor to adopt, he exacted the same observance from others, and never passed over negligence or idleness. He loved the arts, and honoured talent; and

although he might, without fear, have abandoned himself to his wise and enlightened taste, he was guided only by the connexion which the productions of genius might have with the glory of the Emperor. The entrance to his apartments, though generally difficult, was never so to celebrated men who might contribute to the splendour of Napoleon's reign. No one understood more thoroughly the tastes and character of that Prince, nor exercised over him a more marked and continued influence. What is most remarkable is, that the Emperor was himself aware of this influence, and did not endeavour to shake it off. The excellent judgment and sagacity of the Duke de Frioul, always prevented him from opposing at the instant the first emotions of Napoleon, sometimes too precipitate. A few hours after he averted their consequences. His constant object was to preserve useful and devoted subjects; he wished to make the Emperor beloved, and that he should command the affection of the public. Perhaps he disdained too much the establishing of a title, on his own account, to the gratitude of those whom he obliged, if I may so express it, against his inclination; and who were often ignorant of the person to whom they were indebted. One thing certain is, that Na-

poleon had no secrets for him, though he had for all the world besides, even for the Prince of Neufchâtel. Duroc was Napoleon's conscience; he laid before him all his motives for discontent, like a pleader who is anxious to obtain the good opinion of his judge. This state of things did equal honour to both. After our return to Moscow, General L——, governor of the palace of St. Cloud, who during this memorable campaign commanded the province of Konigsberg, and whose division had been of so little service, on the approach to Wilna, presented himself before the Emperor, who thought he had to reproach him with the most serious offences. His indignation was so great, that he ordered him to send in to the Grand Marshal, the very same day, his resignation of the governorship of Meridon and St. Cloud, and also commanded him never again to appear before him. He would listen to no explanation, and passed into the gardens of the *Palace de l'Elysée*, in which he then resided. He literally ran through them for an hour, talking the whole time with the greatest vehemence. The Grand Marshal followed him, listened to what he said, and remained silent. Napoleon then came and sat down in a little arbour, where his breakfast had been prepared, according to his

orders. During breakfast he still continued to desire that General L—— should be removed from his situation. "Do you hear me?" said he to the Duke; "this very day."—"Yes, Sire," were the only words spoken in reply by the Grand Marshal, in whose eyes I read the hope of changing the Emperor's determination. This affair was settled in the course of the evening. All idea of dismissing the General was abandoned; but the Grand Marshal advised him to keep out of sight for some time. The morning scene had had too many witnesses.

At this period of 1813, the moveable property of the crown was carried to the full complement; it was valued at thirty millions. All the Imperial palaces were repaired and furnished.

There had been spent the preceding year, in buildings at the Louvre, twenty-one millions, and in the purchase of houses which were to be pulled down, seven millions.

Two millions five hundred thousand francs had been expended in the purchase of land, for the building of the Palace of the King of Rome.

Five millions two hundred thousand francs for the Palace of Versailles.

Ten millions eight hundred thousand francs for buildings, re-establishments, embellishments, forming new gardens at St. Cloud, Trianon, Rambouillet, Stupinitz, Laken, Strasburg, Rome, &c.

Ten millions six hundred thousand francs at Fontainebleau and Compiègne.

Two millions four hundred and fifty thousand francs for the first works of the new machine at Marly.

The diamonds of the crown, which had been pledged, were recovered and increased, and an addition of thirty millions of pictures, statues, works of art, specimens of antiquity, &c. was made to the museum; in the whole, one hundred and sixteen millions eight hundred and fifty thousand francs were expended by the civil list, and the *domaine extraordinaire*, without the imposition of any new taxes. At this period, France contained forty-two millions seven hundred and thirty-eight thousand three hundred and seventy-seven inhabitants. Her superficies was seventy-five millions nine hundred and fifty-seven thousand three hundred and one hectares, reckoning all the new departments.

While Napoleon drove back the Russians and Prussians in Silesia, a malignant brain fever confined me to my bed at Dresden, where I remained with a part of the Imperial marine, and the general administration of the army.

I owe my recovery from this dangerous malady to the judicious and affectionate attentions of M. Desgenettes, and M. Jouanneau the present surgeon to the Hospital of Invalids, who has ever since been numbered among my friends. The armistice was signed, and the Emperor returned to Dresden on the 10th of June. I was recovering slowly, and I gave orders for my journey to the Palace of Marcolini, where Napoleon had established his residence in the suburb of Fredericstadt. I found in the antiroom the Duke of Otranto (Fouché), who had been sent for by Napoleon. The doors of the Emperor's chamber opened for General Gucesdorff, first Aid-de-camp of the King of Saxony, to go out. Napoleon, perceiving me, had the condescension to call me to him. He spoke for a long time on the dreadful loss he had lately sustained in the death of the Duke de Frioul. In general, the grief of this Prince was transient, for he had but little time to indulge the emotions of his heart; but this misfortune appeared to have left a deep im-

pression. I informed him that the Duke of Otranto waited his orders....He asked me the public opinion on the arrival of such a person at the head-quarters....I replied that it was generally thought he had summoned him merely for the purpose of employing him in the negotiations of the Congress about to be opened at Prague.... "Good!" said he, "Fouché is no diplomatist." I added, that another opinion, in which I participated, was, that he had sent for him to Dresden, in order to oppose him to the cunning of Baron Stein, who filled Germany with spies and pamphlets. "Good, too!" said the Emperor, smiling. After a moment's silence he added, "Fouché is not a fit man to be left at Paris in the present state of things." Some minutes afterwards he asked me if I was not the person he had charged with the superintendence of the French theatre at Moscow. I answered in the affirmative. "Well, then," said he, "Turenne and you will superintend the French company of actors whom I have ordered to come here during the armistice; inform Caulincourt, whom I have provisionally invested with the office of grand marshal. Tell the Duke of Otranto to come in." I went towards the Duke of Vicenza, and informed him of the orders I had just received. I was still

conversing with him, when the Duke of Otranto left the Emperor's apartment, and, coming to us, told us that he was appointed governor-general of Illyria in place of General Bertrand, who was to command one of the bodies of the active army. Fouché did not appear much pleased with his new post.

Napoleon had one defect, which arose from the kindness of his nature. He knew not how to detach himself from those who had held the highest places in his confidence and government. In the first moment of a just resentment, he thought that he ought to break with them altogether; but this feeling over, he endeavoured to compensate the loss of his favour and even of his esteem, by concessions of another kind, when in his power, and especially when the objects of his resentment had done him real services. Fouché had almost always been necessary on account of his great knowledge of the manners, principles, wishes, and interests of the various factions who had attempted to shake the country. He had always mixed in them, as a judge and a spectator, and, it has been said, as an accomplice also. Napoleon too often forgot that the head of a new dynasty ought, according to circumstances, to load

with favours the man who is devoted to him, or overwhelm with contempt the one who proves himself unworthy of confidence. He did not bear in mind, that, according to the views of sound policy, there exists no medium between power and weakness. Temporizing measures and precautions are but a feeble plastering which the slightest blow destroys. Names and examples would not be wanting, were it necessary to prove my assertion.

Never did two superintendents agree better than the Count de Turenne and myself. He undertook the invitations, and all that related to the etiquette and convenience of the persons admitted, &c. &c.; the establishment, the building of the theatre, lodging the actors, keeping the repertory, theatrical performances, and all the paraphernalia belonging to them, formed a part of my duties.

On the 19th of June, the actors from the French theatre arrived, and found every thing prepared for their reception. I had hired suitable houses with all the necessary furniture; carriages, servants, &c. were at their disposal; in short, we endeavoured to anticipate their taste, and to comply with their habits and wishes

in order to render their residence in a foreign country as agreeable as possible. It was but just to think of the comfort of those who came so far, in order by their great talents, and the remarkable politeness of their manners and behaviour, to contribute to the amusement and pleasure of a French army condemned to inactivity.

A theatre was built in the orangery of the Marcolini palace, which communicated with the apartments, and which would hold two hundred persons. Thanks to the complaisance of Count Wistum, marshal of the Saxon court, and to that of Count Loo, chamberlain and intendant of the property of the crown, these indispensable preliminaries were quickly finished. While the French actors were preparing for their *début*, the Italian company belonging to the King performed three times in this little theatre.

The first French representation took place on the 22nd of June. The performances were "La Gageure imprévue," and the "Suite d'un Bal Masqué" of Madame Bawr.

As the little theatre was but ill adapted for the representation of tragedies, these performances were enacted at the great theatre of the town. The only admissions on these occasions were tickets distributed by the Count

de Turenne; no money was taken. The Emperor's footmen waited on the company in the boxes, and presented refreshments.

A remarkable change took place in Napoleon's taste, who until this time had always preferred tragedy. Men, in general, experience this effect of life. In the age of youth and passion, the master-pieces of the tragic scene transport us into a fancied and unknown world. In this world, every thing, even down to the language and dress, speaks heroically to our soul and senses. It is the time of illusions which subdue and ravish us. Later in life the imagination becomes calm; we feel the necessity of drawing near to nature and society as it really exists in the world; the just delineation of manners and characters is now infinitely more interesting. Certainly the admirable talents of Mdlle. Mars, Fleury, &c. were well calculated to produce this change in Napoleon's taste. But to speak from my own observations, the reason I have just given appears to me much more probable. I chose the time of the Emperor's breakfast, to show him the list of the pieces which were prepared for acting. He generally ordered me to read the names aloud, and then fixed on those he liked. One day,

speaking of "L'Intrigue Epistolaire," he asked me if that piece was not by Fabre d'Eglantine. The Prince of Neufchatel, who breakfasted with him, immediately replied in the affirmative, and began talking of the "Philinte de Molière," by the same author. The Emperor delivered on this latter comedy a most remarkable opinion. "He had seen it played several times in his youth, and he had always thought the style barbarous and strange for the eighteenth century." During the discussion on this piece, he said, among other things, that "he had often endeavoured to guess, though he had never been able to do so, what had induced the author to call his play the 'Philinte de Molière,' whom he did not resemble more than any other character in any other play. The true 'Philinte de Molière,'" continued he, "is not certainly like the misanthrope Alceste, a Don Quixote of virtue and philanthropy. He does not think it necessary to quarrel with every one he meets for trifles; he is sufficiently acquainted with the incurable weaknesses of men, to know that candour ill-placed, or uncalled for, may do much mischief by unnecessarily irritating the passions: in short, he is a sensible, reasonable man, well bred and incapable of the slightest action or discourse, which

would offend morality, or violate delicacy. The *Philinte* of Fabre, on the contrary, is a most despicable character, who openly shows himself capable of committing the most odious actions from interested motives, and who is as unworthy of being the husband of her he loved, as the friend of the misanthrope *Alceste*. As to the plot, it is altogether contemptible. What banker, capitalist, or receiver-general, would lose a note of six-thousand francs from his coffer, without perceiving it? And then there is an attorney who confesses his roguery at the very first word from *Alceste*. It must be allowed, that there is neither invention nor execution in all this; and the language in which it is written is extremely prosy. The admirable playing of *Molé* was the only thing which gave me pleasure. But I do not regret its not being in the list, for I have not the slightest desire to see it acted again.

"As to the 'Intrigue Epistolaire,' the superintendent, who has been listening to our conversation, may order its representation at the great theatre. Perhaps this *imbroglio* may give some pleasure to the court of Saxony."

I mentioned at the commencement of these memoirs, that the Emperor had sometimes con-

descended to admit Talma during his breakfast. Mademoiselle Mars was equally honoured during our residence at Dresden. Among the many questions Napoleon put to her was one concerning her *début.* "Sire," replied she with a grace peculiar to herself, "I was very little when I began. I crept in without being perceived." "Without being perceived!" said the Emperor: "you are much mistaken—you surely mean to say, that you gained the public admiration by degrees. As for myself, Mademoiselle, believe me, I have always with the whole of France appreciated your distinguished talents."

CHAPTER XXV.

Affair of M. Carion de Nisas.—Congress at Prague.—Decisive audience of M. de Metternich at Dresden.—Conditions proposed by Austria; refusal to sign them.—The Emperor leaves Dresden.

DURING our residence at Dresden, an event occurred to which my friendship for M. de Nisas did not suffer me to remain indifferent. This superior officer had been sent on a mission, an hour after the Emperor's return to Dresden after the signing of the armistice.

The orders he received from the Major-general were to set off immediately for Géra, there to await the arrival of the infantry, cavalry, and artillery troops, on their way to Dresden, and to form a column of three hundred infantry, six hundred cavalry, and three pieces of cannon. The instructions ordered him to let the other troops pass on when he should have formed his column.

This order was really nothing more than a

measure of precaution with regard to the bodies of Prussian partisans who were suddenly enclosed in our positions, determined by the armistice, and who would continue to act against the rear of the army on the side of Plawen, under the specious pretext that they were ignorant of this armistice. Among the number of these wandering bodies, was that of Colonel Lutzow, one of their most enterprising commanders, whose forces might be computed at 3000 men, principally cavalry. M. de Nisas's column was evidently not intended to act alone. It was to support the movements of the great body of our troops, commanded by General Castex, one of our bravest warriors. M. de Nisas had even been enjoined to await the orders of that general.

It was my friend's misfortune to arrive at Géra at the same time as a detachment of the Guard charged with escorting a convoy of flour. They, being on their march to Dresden, were necessarily comprised in the number of troops, of which he was to form his column and take the command. The dislike, I may say the repugnance, of privileged bodies to obey officers who are not their legitimate commanders, is well enough known. The officer who commanded this detachment, insisted that

the Guard was an exception, and not included among the other troops; besides which, it was placed in a peculiar situation, from the necessity it was under of escorting the convoy. M. de Nisas denied this, and the dispute lasted all the morning.

During this time it was discovered that Colonel Lutzow had come quietly and alone to Géra. Some military men had a parley with him. After some conversation, this Prussian Colonel was taken to the house of M. de Nisas, who was advised to profit by this opportunity to arrest the Colonel, and to send him bound hand and foot to Dresden, leaving for future discussion the legality of this proceeding. It was imagined that in the absence of their chief, it would be easy to disorganise this body of partisans, carry off his chest and baggage, &c. &c.

Certainly nothing would have been more easy than to seize on a man free from suspicion. This action would doubtless have contributed to the advancement of M. de Nisas; but for the two last days, Lutzow had ceased all hostilities, had put himself under the protection of the armistice; and had opened a communication with the commissioner of the King of Saxony, by sending back to Géra two gendarmes, taken

prisoners by his men since the armistice. In consequence of this, he demanded a safe conduct to cross our army, and arrive safely at the quarters which the Prussian generals had assigned him beyond the Elbe. His presence unattended at Géra, which was occupied by our troops, was a sufficient pledge for the good faith of Colonel Lutzow.

M. de Nisas imagined, with good reason, that this Colonel, claiming as he did the fulfilment of the armistice, was not to be considered in a state of open hostility. Therefore, far from arresting him, he gave him the safe conduct necessary for the arrival of himself and corps at his destined quarters, they having laid aside their arms, and all show of hostility. However this safe conduct could not preserve the Colonel. Secure in the regularity of his conduct, he encamped during the night at Kitzen, near Leipzick, when he was suddenly attacked by General Fournier. His chest and baggage were plundered; the remains of his corps continued fighting till they arrived on the banks of the Elbe; and he himself owed his safety to the swiftness of his horse.

Great complaints were made of this noble moderation of Colonel de Nisas, to whom the people were not at all obliged for the respect he

paid to the law of nations. These complaints quickly reached the head-quarters; and when Nisas arrived at Dresden to give an account of this fatal mission, which the officer of the Guard's refusal to obey would at all events have rendered useless, he was put under arrest. The Count de Turenne and myself, who were his particular friends, went to see him, and, after listening to all the details of the affair, we applied to the Prince of Neufchâtel, who loved and esteemed M. de Nisas. This prince asked and obtained for him an audience with the Emperor.

This interview took place in the garden, in the presence of the Duke of Dalmatia. But prejudice was already strongly excited against him. Napoleon's attachment to that fine Guard, which constituted one of the firmest supports of his military power, prevailed over every other consideration. This prince did not wish to be impartial, although at the bottom of his heart he must have felt, that had he been in Nisas's place he would have acted in the same manner. He would not admit of any justification founded on the refusal to obey, pretending that that would be calumniating the Guard. In vain did the accused desire to be tried by a court-martial. He was deprived of

his rank by an absolute decree, which did not state a single reason; and what aggravated the severity of the measure, was a command which accompanied it, not to approach nearer Paris than a hundred leagues.

During this long interview I was placed at one of the windows of the palace which overlooked the garden. I followed both with my heart and eyes all Napoleon's movements, and I experienced a painful sensation on seeing his expressive and variable countenance full of reproach whenever M. de Nisas endeavoured to justify himself, with all the earnestness of a man who feels his honour attacked. More than once I saw Marshal Soult pull the flap of his coat, as if to check the warmth of his feelings, which could only injure him; but Nisas would not own that he was in the wrong, and the Emperor would not yield the point. It must be said, to the praise of the Duke of Dalmatia, that, although one of the colonels-general of the Guard, he did not take the part of the officer who served under his orders, and that he said not one word in condemnation of M. de Nisas. Some time afterwards, the heat of passion over, Napoleon would himself have been able to interpret this eloquent silence; but important affairs oc-

cupied him, and he had no longer his good genius by his side. Certainly, if the Duke de Frioul had been living, if pitiless Death, who cut down around the Emperor the most faithful of his subjects, had spared this worthy counsellor of Napoleon's glory, he would have laid before him all the claims presented by the public life of M. de Nisas.

When there was a debate on M. Cureé's proposition for raising the First Consul to the imperial purple, and Carnot opposed it with apparent success, it was M. de Nisas, who, wishing to deliver France from the shackles of a republic which had become odious, rushed to the rostrum, and made that brilliant extempore speech, which called forth unanimous approbation. Educated in the just théories of a constitutional monarchy, he always showed himself the enlightened defender of the crown's prerogatives. It was he, also, who, in the same rostrum, recalled the idea of a religious and political divorce, a proposition, then vague and general, which attracted attention, and which, again brought forward some time afterwards, was executed at the end of 1809. Finally, it was M. de Nisas, who, seeing the Chamber closed against his talents and his eloquence, joined the ranks of our brave men,

and served with honourable distinction in the Russian, Spanish, Portuguese, and German campaigns.

On this deprivation of rank, M. de Nisas entered as a volunteer in the 20th regiment of dragoons, and served in the battles of Dresden, Leipzick, Augustusbourg, Hanau, (so glorious for General Drouot,) Holstein, Colmar, Saint-Dizier, Brienne, Montereau, &c.

It is thus that a man of spirit and ability revenges a suspicion, and does not compromise his honour. Colonel Désargus, Lamotte, general of brigade, L'Heritier, general of division, and General Milhaud, commander-in-chief of this body of cavalry, were the witnesses and judges of this noble conduct. To complete his military re-establishment, which M. de Nisas owed entirely to himself, Marshal Soult, when he became Minister of War, restored him to his rank of adjutant-commandant, and ordered the restoration of his appointments.

When danger is over, when, after a bloody war, arms are laid aside, and the warriors repose in peace; then, when the impartial voice of truth is heard, it is curious and instructive to compare the opinions of the two conflicting parties, to explain and combine the actions and circumstances which have, in a greater or less

degree, influenced military events; then inflexible history, with the greatest accuracy and justice, assigns to each his share of blame or praise. M. de Lutzow, complaining bitterly of General Fournier, and loudly commending the loyalty of M. de Nisas, has rendered extremely easy the task of the historian, who thinks this little narrative worthy of a place in the recital of the great and memorable campaigns of the period.

M. de Nisas's opinion on the divorce (which established in an indirect manner the possibility of a divorce on the throne, although opposed to divorce in general) recalls to my mind, that he was included, in 1805, in the grand deputation of the tribunal sent to congratulate the Emperor on the splendid triumphs which signalized the commencement of the campaign of Austerlitz. This deputation, composed of the most distinguished members, received orders to remain at Strasburg with the Empress Josephine. I saw with sorrow the awkward situation of my friend, and the embarrassment it occasioned him. The interpretations given to the exceptionable part of the opinion I have been speaking of, imposed on him so painful a reserve toward the Empress Josephine, that he did not dare show himself, but remained always

behind the twenty-four members of the deputation. I ventured to plead his cause, well assured that on appealing to the heart of Josephine I should obtain complete success. I was not mistaken: at the very next audience, she broke through all the ranks, and restored her favour to M. de Nisas in the most pleasing manner, forgetting that he had unintentionally wounded her affection and self-love. I could not pass over in silence an action which does so much honour to that princess.

The Congress at Prague was a mere diplomatic show. The real discussions took place at Dresden, whither the Prince of Metternich and the Count de Bubna repaired. I am quite ignorant of what passed in the ministerial conferences; I only know that the last, the most important, and the most decisive, took place at the palace, between the Emperor and the Prince of Metternich, in the presence of the Prince of Neufchâtel and the Duke of Bassano. This conference lasted seven hours, and during this long space of time the King of Saxony and the King of Naples awaited its result either in the anteroom or in the garden. On quitting this audience, M. de Metternich appeared angry. He waited in silence at the palace-gate

until the Emperor, who left the apartment at the same moment as himself, had mounted his horse. I was placed accidentally close to the Prince, from the expression of whose countenance I endeavoured to gain some information, when he, having known me a long time, seized my hand, as it were, mechanically, pressed it violently, and even retained it for some minutes without uttering a single word. This dumb and almost convulsive adieu distressed me, and appeared to hint the fate of the empire. M. de Metternich set off the same night with the Count de Bubna, who forgot to take with him his wife, who had accompanied him to Dresden.

A person, on whom I can place the greatest reliance as to the state of affairs, assured me, that the demands of Austria were:—

I. To restrain France within its natural boundaries of the Rhine.

II. To make Italy a kingdom independent of France.

III. To renounce the protection of the Confederation of the Rhine, the supreme mediation of Helvetia, &c. &c.

On one occasion, I have been told, Napoleon took his pen to sign these conditions, but he laid it down, saying; "What Austria

requires of me, is sufficiently important to be disputed by force of arms."

A few days after the audience of M. de Metternich, the Emperor left Dresden to visit the fortified places on the Elbe, and then proceeded to Mayence, where he had appointed to meet Maria Louisa.

General Durosnel, aid-de-camp to the Emperor and Governor of Dresden, took advantage of the leisure afforded by the absence of Napoleon, to give a delightful fête to the French company of actors. Baptiste the younger, without departing from good taste and politeness, contributed greatly to the evening's entertainment, where he presented himself under the title of my Lord Bristol, on his way to the Congress of Prague. Some persons of the court of Saxony were completely imposed upon.

I remained some days at Dresden, and afterwards proceeded to Wisbaden, the waters of which place were prescribed for the recovery of my health, which I had much neglected. I then set out for Languedoc, whither I was called by my own private affairs, and returned to Paris on the 19th of January, 1814.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Campaign of France.—Congress at Chatillon.—Courageous conduct of the Duke of Vicenza.—Council of Regency; the determination to quit Paris on the 29th of March.—Observations on this order.—What passed at the Council of Regency on the 28th.—The Empress Maria Louisa during the Regency.—Departure from Paris.—The King of Rome refuses to leave the palace.—Arrival at Rambouillet.

THE Emperor had been at Paris a few days. At this period, Napoleon appeared melancholy, but firm and resolute. I learnt, that not meeting with that confidence and support from the legislative body, which he had a right to expect, he had been much hurt. A short time afterwards he left Paris to place himself at the head of his faithful and valiant army, and thus combat singly all the armies of Europe. History will record this campaign around Paris as the most bold and skilful one ever made.

On the 28th of March, at one o'clock in the afternoon, the Duchess of Montebello did me

the honour to write me word that the Empress would leave Paris the following morning, at six o'clock, and that her Majesty had named me as a part of the suite who were to accompany her in her journey. I received the same information from Prince Aldobrandini, head-groom. I went to the palace in the evening in order to learn the objects and direction of the intended journey. I waited there until midnight to hear the issue of a council of Regency, which lasted some hours. On the breaking up of this council, the Empress told us, that the departure from Paris was determined on, and that she should set off at nine o'clock in the morning for Rambouillet.

The Regent's position was a most extraordinary one; history does not contain a parallel to it. The beloved daughter of the Emperor of Austria, one of whose generals was the generalissimo of the combined armies, she had for herself and her cause all possible securities for the preservation of the capital. Married to Napoleon by her father's order, a dutiful daughter, a faithful wife, and a glorious mother, she could present herself pure and spotless before the most subtle and scrupulous politician; she could, without disgrace, accept terms of capitulation, always honourable in such a situation,

and even sign a peace, to which the enemy would have the more readily consented, because, astonished themselves at their successes, they had not as yet come to any settled opinion as to the new conditions which it was their interest to impose on the French government.

"The allied sovereigns," said the Prince of Schwartzenberg (in his declaration before Paris, on the 31st of March), "seek with earnestness and sincerity a salutary authority in France, which may cement the union of all nations and governments. It belongs to the town of Paris, in the present circumstances, to accelerate the peace of the world. Its decision is expected with the interest which so important an object ought to inspire. Let it but pronounce the word, and from that moment the army which is before her walls will support and maintain its decisions."

This proclamation is the most severe comment on the decision of the council of Regency. I received some minute particulars concerning this Regency.

The only, the real, the important question, was to decide whether the Government should leave Paris or not. All the reasons for and against this measure were deliberately discuss-

ed. The majority advised a continuance at Paris. Only the Princes Joseph and Cambacérès, with two other persons, counselled the departure. A second discussion was opened on the same question. The result was the same; when the Empress Josephine took a letter of the Emperor's from her portfolio, which had been written more than a month ago, and in which he said:—

"If the communications should be intercepted by the course of war, he wished that the person of the Empress, and that of his son, should not be exposed."

The reading of this letter suddenly overcame all opposition. The Council regarded obedience as their duty, and decided for the departure.

In the councils of the Regency, the Empress Maria Louisa, who took no interest in grave matters, and who, above all, had a great mistrust of her own abilities, always followed the advice of those who counselled her. History would be very unjust towards her, if it accused her of having of her own accord abandoned her capital when she ought to have remained in it. Maria Louisa had all the weaknesses of good-nature, never decided any thing, and really, in affairs connected with the administration, had

no other opinion than the one communicated to her by those persons whom she knew to be in the confidence of the Emperor. She carried with her the same good nature and kindness into social life; but nevertheless it was easy to discover that she possessed good natural sense, much knowledge without any ostentation, a noble and touching simplicity, and a gentle gaiety, corresponding with the expression of her countenance. She loved the arts, was an excellent musician, drew well, rode on horseback with grace, spoke French perfectly, wrote it still better, and understood Italian and English, &c. The union of so many valuable qualifications produced a most delightful and interesting character. Had she been placed on a throne not agitated by political convulsions, she would have preserved the love and admiration of France, while she would have formed its happiness and ornament.

On the 29th of March, I was from six in the morning at the Palace of the Tuileries. The courts were filled with equipages and waggons of all kinds. State carriages, even that of the coronation, the waggons of the treasury, plate, &c. occupied the whole space. At nine o'clock the various preparations were finished. The

Empress, accompanied by her son, Mesdames Montesquiou, Montebello, Brignolé, Castiglione, &c. got into her carriage. When they requested the young and beautiful child to get in, he refused to do so, shed tears, and said that he would not leave the palace. I was near him, and saw the expression of his infantine passion. M. de Canisy, the groom, was obliged to assist Madame de Montesquiou in placing him, against his inclination, in the carriage. The instinct of this young prince spoke otherwise than the counsellors of the throne.

What must have been the feelings of the inhabitants of this fine capital, when they beheld the departure of this long cavalcade, rendered still more considerable by the coaches of the members of government, and various ministerial chanceries, moving under the protection of an escort of from a thousand to twelve hundred men, without artillery, and occupying nearly a league. A hundred Cossacks, and a gun charged with grape-shot, would have been sufficient to throw us into the greatest disorder. Such were the melancholy reflections made by myself, Count Haussonville, M. de Cussi, and M. de Seyssel, with whom I journeyed.

We arrived at the palace of Rambouillet at three o'clock in the afternoon.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Character of the court.—King Joseph arrives in the evening of the 29th.—Order to leave Rambouillet.—Arrival at Blois.—The Arch-chancellor Cambacérès.—Regency of Blois.—Proclamation of the Regency.—Joseph, Jerome, and Cambacérès visit Maria Louisa to inform her that she must leave Blois.—Arrival of the Commissioners at Blois.—The Empress entrusts me with her despatches to the Emperors of France and Austria.—Visit to Count Schouwaloff.—Notification of the armistice.

1814.

CERTAINLY, nothing could less resemble the journey of a court than this tumultuous retreat of persons and of luggage of all kinds. However, once assembled in the palace of Rambouillet, each endeavoured to conceal in the bottom of his heart the sad thoughts inspired by a position so critical, and so capable of changing the consideration, the state, and the fortune of the individuals who formed the government and the court.

The character of this flight was very remarkable. Every one was at his post, in his state uniform, determined to maintain his privileges. The most minute rules and the strictest etiquette were observed with the greatest attention, rendered still more jealous by the hope of preventing their dissolution. The things least talked of were the occurrences of the preceding day, and the events which might take place on the morrow. Nothing on these subjects betrayed the secret thoughts and sentiments by which the whole party were affected. There was, however, one good trait in the manners of the court; it was the pure and disinterested care taken to conceal from the Empress the distressing and fatal consequences of our leaving Paris, and the successive losses which must necessarily affect, at some future period, the Imperial throne. The whole company closed in and formed around the Empress and her son—a circle of persons animated by the most honourable and disinterested devotion.

It had been settled that King Joseph should send couriers to inform the Empress of every thing which happened in the capital. This Prince, who the evening before had declared in a fine proclamation to the National Guard of Paris, that he would never quit the town, ar-

rived at Rambouillet at full gallop, the very same evening (29th), and orders were given to set out the following morning.

We slept at Chartres on the 30th, and at Chateaudun on the 31st, at Vendome on the 1st of April, and at Blois on the 2nd.

The Arch-chancellor Cambacérès followed the Empress's carriages; he was accompanied by some faithful friends, who would not leave him. His Highness's feet constantly rested on a beautiful large mahogany box placed inside his berlin, and which he always ordered to be carried before him when he alighted from his carriage, and when he repaired to the lodging prepared for him. Some evil-disposed persons say, that the prudent oracles and dilatory inspirations which guided the Arch-chancellor, when at the last council of Regency, held at Paris on the 28th, he insisted on leaving the capital, came from the bottom of this precious casket. For my own part, I always thought that this box contained the great seals of state. Be that as it may, these observations do not in the least detract from the great merit of the Arch-chancellor; he was a most learned and skilful magistrate, summing up the most varied discussions and the most arduous consultations with admirable facility and clearness. "If all the code

were to be lost," said the Emperor, "it would be found in the head of Cambacérès."

The Empress arrived at Blois on Saturday the 2d of April, at five in the evening. She alighted at the Prefect's hotel, surrounded by the city guard, the troops of the garrison, and a part of the Imperial guard who had either preceded or escorted her.

Lodgings had been prepared for the Emperor's mother, the Princes Joseph, Louis, Jerome, for all the members of government, &c.

At first the days were spent in councils of Regency, at which the Empress presided with great exactness. There no longer existed any hope of safety. The palace resembled head-quarters; the ministers, booted and spurred, repaired thither without portfolios, as if they expected an order to mount their horses on the instant, and be ready to execute the commands given. Nevertheless, as diplomatic regulations are always rigorous, even in the most distressing situations, nothing transpired concerning the discussions which took place, perhaps because under such circumstances there was nothing to be said.

The Duke de Rovigo, Minister of the Police, received a courier from the Emperor on the 6th

of April. Among the despatches sent to him from Fontainebleau, was one addressed to me, which contained Spanish papers for me to translate. These documents related to the fêtes and rejoicings which took place in Spain, when King Ferdinand was sent by the Marshal Duke of Albuféra to the advanced posts of the Spanish army, commanded by Don Palafox, Captain-general of Arragon. These publications would have been but little flattering to Napoleon, and I thought it was useless to translate them. There was a manifesto of the Cortes to the Spanish nation, the preamble of which was filled with declamations the most virulent against the French nation, but the most devoted and flattering to Ferdinand VII. These strong demonstrations of attachment and fidelity did not eventually preserve this Cortes, composed of every nation, from a downfall so violent, that they never rose again. The events in France, which continued increasing on all sides, enabled me to dispense with sending to the Emperor the translation of these abusive papers, from which he could have gained no advantage, either for his personal instruction, or the maintenance of an authority which the ingratitude of the senate had just deprived him of. Napoleon supposed that these papers might

relate to the operations of the armies in the South of France. The simple explanation I gave the Duke of Rovigo was sufficient. But I was not the less struck by the constancy of Napoleon, which induced him, in the midst of the ruins which surrounded him, to extend so greatly his views and anxiety. Napoleon was eminently French.

On the 7th of April, at the breaking up of a council, we were informed of a proclamation made in the name of the Empress Regent.

" Frenchmen,

"The events of the war have placed the capital in the power of the enemy.

" The Emperor, who has hastened to defend it, is at the head of his armies, which have so often been victorious: they are in sight of the enemy under the walls of Paris.

" It is from the residence I have chosen, and from the Emperor's ministers, that you will receive the only orders you can with loyalty obey.

" When a town is in the enemy's power, it ceases to be free; all instructions emanating from that quarter, are the language of a stranger, and command that which it is his interest to propagate.

"You will be faithful to your oaths of allegiance, you will listen to the voice of a princess who was entrusted to your good faith and loyalty, who places her glory in being French, and being linked with the destiny of the sovereign whom you freely chose.

"My son was less secure of your hearts in the time of our prosperity. His rights and his person are under your protection.

"Imperial Palace of Blois, April 7th, 1814.

"(Signed) MARIA LOUISA."

This proclamation produced no effect, nor indeed could it, because it was not supported by any military force. We must regard it as the discharge of a duty, useful in case of success, and unimportant in case of danger. It was the only public act which arose out of all the councils of the Regency, during its stay at Blois.

On Good Friday, the 8th of April, I went to the Palace at eight o'clock in the morning, according to my custom, as well to attend to my duty as to learn the news from the head-quarters of the Emperor. I was informed that Princes Joseph, Jerome, and Cambacérès had arrived before me, and that they were in con-

ference with the Empress. I endeavoured to guess what important business could have brought them to the palace at an hour which I knew was too early for the Empress, when one of her waiting women informed me that her Majesty desired to speak to me instantly. I was conducted into an apartment between the bed-room and sitting-room. Being informed that I waited her orders, she condescended to appear. I remarked that her countenance was more animated than usual, and that the calm and gentle tranquillity, generally visible in her features, was much changed. From the negligence of her toilette, I could easily see that she had risen in haste, on the arrival of her brothers-in-law, who requested to speak with her.

"M. de Bausset," said her Majesty, "among the officers of the Emperor's household who are now here, you are my oldest acquaintance, since I have known you from the time of my marriage. I count on your devotion, and am going to inform you of what has taken place here. My brothers-in-law and the Arch-chancellor are there, in that apartment. They have just told me that I must instantly leave Blois, and that, if I do not consent with a good grace, they will forcibly carry both myself and my son to our carriage."

"May I ask what is your Majesty's own wish on the subject?"

"I would remain here until the arrival of letters from the Emperor," replied her Majesty.

"If such be your will, Madam, I dare assure your Majesty, that all the officers of your household, and those of your guard, will think with me, that we have only to attend to the orders which you may give. Will your Majesty allow me to acquaint them with your wishes?"

"Go, I entreat you, and return and inform me of your success."

On quitting the apartments of the Empress, the first persons I met were the Count d'Haussonville and General Cafarelli, aid-de-camp to the Emperor, charged with the military command of the palace. . Still affected by what I had just heard, I immediately acquainted them with it. "This is not to be endured," said the Count d'Haussonville with great warmth, and he hastened towards the peristyle of the palace. He had scarcely reached it when he fell, but this did not prevent his calling loudly on all the officers of the guard, who were walking and conversing together in the palace-yard until breakfast-time. The impression was in-

stantaneous. All agreed with us, and manifested the most earnest desire to go that very moment and lay at the Empress's feet the tribute of their fidelity and devotion. I entreated them to give me a few minutes to acquaint the Empress with their feelings and determinations on the subject. I returned to her Majesty's apartment, and requested a moment's audience: the Empress came to me instantly. I informed her of what had passed, and prepared her for the animated manifestation of the sentiments of her whole household, which was about to take place. The Empress desired me to follow her into the apartment. I obeyed.

"M. de Bausset," said she, "repeat to the Princes what you have just told me."

"I have had the honour to inform the Empress, that the officers of her household, and those of her guard, having learnt that there was some idea of obliging her Majesty to leave Blois against her inclination, have declared that they will resist the measure, and yield obedience to no orders but those given by her Majesty."

"Repeat the exact words they made use of," said King Joseph: "it is necessary that we should know what kind of spirit animates them."

"Those words would not be very pleasing," replied I; "besides, the noise I hear in the adjoining apartment, will better inform your Majesty of the spirit which dictated them."

I had scarcely finished speaking, when the doors of the apartment were thrown open with violence, and all the officers eagerly and unanimously declared the sentiments which I had just expressed in their name.

"It will be better to remain, Madame," said Prince Joseph, with inexpressible gentleness, as he turned towards the Empress: "the proposition I made to your Majesty appeared desirable for your welfare; but since you think otherwise, I repeat it, you must remain."

All was now restored to its accustomed order, and departure was no longer talked of.

I have no personal opinion on a circumstance of this nature. Many different motives have been attributed to the Princes, who probably flattered themselves that they should be able to prolong an unequal contest, or obtain more advantageous conditions. It is quite certain that none of us approved the resolution of quitting Paris, and that we dreaded the consequences of a second flight. We were enclosed on every side. Where could we go?

Our downfal was inevitable. It became us, then, to meet it with dignity.

The Empress in this event acted of her own accord, without consulting her council of Regency.

Count Schouwaloff, aid-de-camp-general to the Emperor Alexander, and Baron Saint Aignan, arrived at Blois the same day at noon; the first in the character of the commissioner of the Allied Powers, and the second as the commissioner of the French government: both, especially Count Schouwaloff, charged to protect the Empress, who announced her intention of going first to Orleans and then to Fontainebleau.

These official measures justified the happy foresight of the Empress.

Before dinner her Majesty sent for me.

"Will you do me another service?" enquired this princess, with so touching a grace that I was quite penetrated.

"Command me, Madame; I am your devoted servant."

"Well, then, you will set out this evening for Paris. You will there find my father, the Emperor, and deliver to him a letter which

I am going to write. This done, you will proceed to Fontainebleau with another letter for Napoleon. I hope to go there myself, for I ought to and will be near him. Make your arrangements, and return at eight in the evening to receive my despatches."

I paid strict attention to the orders of the Empress, who herself delivered to me the two letters with which she condescended to entrust me. I then went to the house of Count Schouwaloff, with whom I had been much acquainted at Erfurt during the conference of 1808. I found in his apartment a great number of persons who had brought their passports for examination on their return to Paris. It is proper to remark that the principal persons in the government considered their mission finished from the moment of the arrival of the Commissioner-general of the allied armies, and thought themselves at liberty to pursue their own private affairs. Count Schouwaloff recollected me, and immediately came towards me. We talked in private, and I informed him of the mission I had just received, asking him at the same time for a passport to Paris, and from thence to Fontainebleau, in order that I might there await the Empress's arrival. The Count then told me in a low

tone, that the Empress was not going there, and that it was decided that she should go to Rambouillet when she quitted Orleans.

I was going away, but had myself become an important personage. The attention shown me by Count Schouwaloff made those by whom he was surrounded, and who were extremely anxious to know the state of affairs, very desirous of conversing with me.

On the 8th of April, while I was endeavouring to gain over the Count, there appeared before him an English colonel accompanied by a French officer, who had both been sent to the armies of Marshal Soult, the Duke of Dalmatia, and the Duke of Wellington to proclaim the armistice. These gentlemen set out the same evening to perform their honourable mission, after having had their passports examined.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

I return to Paris on the 9th of April.—Visit to Prince Schwartzenberg.—Arrival of Metternich and Lord Castlereagh.—Conversation with the Prince de Metternich.—I deliver to him the Empress's letter to the Emperor of Austria.—Saloon of the Prince of Benevento.—Treaty of the Allied Powers with the Emperor.—My departure for Fontainebleau.—Audience of the Emperor; his opinion of the departure from Paris, of the Congress at Chatillon, of the Duke of Tarento, of himself, of General Hullin.

I LEFT Blois at eleven o'clock at night, after passing without the slightest obstacle through the enemy's troops, who surrounded the capital. I arrived at home at ten in the morning. I found the apartment which I occupied in the hotel Caumont, *Rue de St. Grenelle, Saint Germain*, filled with seventeen Russians, officers as well as soldiers. I wrote word to Prince Wolkonski, Major-general of the Russian army, who knew me very well. Thanks to his kind-

ness and the orders which he gave, I was put in full and free possession of my apartment the following Sunday at eight in the morning.

In travelling through Paris during the night, I had met nothing but foreign patroles, and those which an indefatigable zeal, and a most courageous watchfulness, had induced the national Parisian guard to send out. I was thus quite unable to form a just idea of the state of the capital. When I went out in the morning to visit the Prince of Schwartzenberg, I found the whole population of the town in the streets, rushing towards the *Place Louis XV.* or the *Boulevards*, which were already crowded by the numerous bodies of troops whom the Emperor Alexander was going to review. It was with great difficulty that I passed through the lines of cavalry, and the trains of artillery; at length I succeeded, and was received by the Prince Generalissimo. I asked him how I could get to see the Emperor of Austria, that I might perform the commission with which I was entrusted, when he informed me that his master was still at Troyes, and advised me to await at his house the arrival of M. de Metternich, whom he expected. He added, on leaving me to go to the grand parade, that I should receive from the Prince de Metternich all the

information I could possibly desire. I waited and conversed for some minutes with Count Clam, one of the Generalissimo's aid-de-camps. We had passed a month together in the Palace of Prague in 1812, and he had always behaved very kindly to me. In the present instance he was still more obliging, got my passport for Fontainebleau examined, and advised me to have the same formality performed by the Provisional Government, which was extremely particular on this point.

I heard the noise of a post-chaise; I repaired to the entrance hall, and saw the Prince of Metternich and Lord Castlereagh, who was with him, alight. I was thus present when these two great enemies of the empire trod for the first time the soil of the capital.

I very modestly took my place in a corner of Prince Schwartzenberg's apartment, when M. de Metternich, perceiving me, came to me and enquired after the health of the Empress. After having answered all his questions, I told him my present commission, and requested him to assist me in obtaining an interview with the Emperor of Austria. "The Emperor," said he, "is still at Troyes. The steps which would be necessary for you to take in order to get near him, would only occupy much valuable time to

no purpose. Give me the Empress's letter, for I am authorized to open all letters addressed to the Emperor of Austria." I answered that the orders I had received did not allow me to comply with his request, and that I was determined to abide by them. "You are much to blame," replied the Prince: "the ministers of the allied powers, and those of Napoleon, are to meet here to-night, to decide on the fate of the Imperial family. Probably the Empress's letter might, if perused by the Emperor Alexander, have a salutary influence on his decision." As I did not think myself sufficiently authorized, and was unwilling to take upon myself the responsibility I foresaw, I asked Prince Metternich's permission to go to the Duke of Vicenza, Napoleon's minister for foreign affairs, in order that I might act as he thought proper in this critical affair. M. de Caulaincourt lived in the Rue de Joubert, in the neighbourhood of Prince Schwartzenberg. I was so fortunate as to find him at home, and he authorized me to deliver the Empress's letter to Prince Metternich. After this prince had unsealed and read the letter, he told me that he felt assured it would produce the best effects. He desired me to return at eleven o'clock at night, that he might inform me of the decision of the diplo-

matic conference which was to take place in the hotel where we then were. When I left Prince Metternich, I thought it expedient to go to Prince Talleyrand's, near whose residence was the seat of the provisional government, that I might have my passports examined, as the Count Clam had advised me.

I found the apartment filled with a great number of people whom I knew, and at the desire of Count Francis de Jaucourt, my relation, M. Dupont de Nemours, who did not know me, put the mark of inspection on my passports, a precaution necessary to prevent my being stopped in my journey to Fontainebleau. In talking with Count Jaucourt and General Dessolles, I happened to say that I had just seen Prince Metternich. On hearing that name, Prince Talleyrand, who was in a window-seat with M. de Nesselrode, turned towards me, and asked if I was quite certain that Prince Metternich had arrived. I replied that I had only just left him. A moment afterwards, M. de Nesselrode left the apartment, and I heard the noise of his carriage driving on at a great pace. At this period the saloon of M. de Talleyrand was the central point, where ambition and prejudice met. It was rather a curious sight for me, who had not been enabled

by successive circumstances to form an idea of the various modifications which had been introduced by the presence of so many enemies in the capital of France. I knew tolerably well the opinions and private interests of the greater part of the persons assembled. I perceived the agent of the arch-chancellor, whom I had left at Blois in the apartment of Count Schouwaloff; he must have been very rapid in his movements. I remarked that the persons whose devotion and enthusiasm for the Imperial family I had frequently admired, were precisely those who placed in their hats the largest white cockades. I was going away, when I saw Count Nesselrode return; I remained with some friends whom I had been glad once more to meet with.

Prince Talleyrand, forgetting apparently that I was a kind of intruder, after conversing for a few minutes with the Count de Nesselrode turned towards us and said, "Gentlemen, the Emperor of Austria approves all that we have done." It was easy to judge from these words, that Austria had not even been consulted. M. de Talleyrand undoubtedly contributed more than any other man to the downfal of Napoleon, and to the re-establishment of the Bourbon family on the French throne.

I mixed in the crowd, and returned home with a confusion of ideas, sentiments, and reflections, which may be easily conceived. I had not even sufficient presence of mind to arrange some of my private affairs. This kind of apathy continued until the hour appointed for me to go to M. de Metternich's. I arrived at Prince Schwartzenberg's hotel at the same time as the ministers plenipotentiary of the allied powers. I saw pass in succession, the Duke of Vicenza, Prince Talleyrand, Prince Hardenberg, M. de Nesselrode, Lord Castlereagh, the Duke of Tarento, &c., who were all, together with M. de Metternich, going to pronounce the fate of the Imperial family. M. de Metternich, on going into the cabinet where such important interests were to be decided, had the kindness to tell me, that he would come and inform me of the measures agreed on, in order that I might be able to give an account to the Empress. At length, after two hours' conference, the Prince de Metternich left the council, and told me, that in virtue of a treaty which had just been signed (11th of April, at one in the morning), the Emperor Napoleon should keep his title of Emperor; that he should have for indemnity the sovereignty of the Island of Elba; that the Duchies

of Parma and Placentia should be given to the Empress, and that he would send on Thursday morning Prince Paul of Esterhazy, to make this official communication to his Majesty, and to deliver to him an authentic copy of the treaty.

As will be seen in the second article of this treaty, concluded in the name of all the Allies with the Plenipotentiaries of the Emperor Napoleon, "Their Majesties the Emperor Napoleon and the Empress Maria Louisa will preserve their titles and qualities during life. The Emperor's mother, brothers, sisters, nephews, and nieces, will likewise preserve, wherever they may be, the titles of Princes of his family."

This condition was signed and accepted on the 11th of April, in the name of the King of France, by the Provisional Government, and in the name of the King of England, by Lord Castlereagh. It is very remarkable, that this is the only occasion on which the Cabinet of London directly recognised Napoleon as Emperor; it consented to do so at the moment only when, by the very act, he ceased to be so. With regard to this recognition of titles, Cardinal Gonsalvi said to me at Schœnbrunn, at the end of 1814, "Could it have been sup-

posed in France, that the Pope had been to Paris for no other purpose than to crown and consecrate a man of straw!" I took from my purse a five franc piece. "Behold," said I, "an undeniable proof of his sovereign power! it is to be found in the pocket of every Frenchman." Indeed, had the contrary opinion prevailed, it would have reduced a chamberlain to a valet de chambre; a groom, to a *piqueur*; a prefect of the palace, to a head cook, &c. &c. It may easily be imagined how unwilling the desire of rank and consideration so natural to all mankind, must make us to yield any thing on these points.

On the 11th of April I set out for Fontainebleau at two in the morning, and I was not obliged to show my passport, for no one asked to see it. I saw an immense number of persons on the road, who were going to Paris in great haste. The last person I met was General Hullin. It was nine o'clock when I arrived at the palace.

I was immediately admitted to the Emperor, to whom I presented the letter of the Empress. "Good Louisa!" said he, after having read it. He then asked many questions concerning her health, and that of his son. I entreated him to honour me with an answer, assuring him of the

great desire I had to carry with me a consolation which the mind of the Empress stood so greatly in need of. "Remain here to-day, to-morrow I will give you my letter."

I found Napoleon calm, tranquil, and decided. His mind was finely tempered. Never, perhaps, did he appear greater. I spoke to him of the Island of Elba. He already knew that this little sovereignty would be given him. He even showed me a book of geography and statistics, which lay on his table, and which contained, concerning this residence, all the information and particulars which he wished to acquire. "The air there is healthy," said he, "and the inhabitants are excellent. I shall not be very badly off, and I hope that Maria Louisa will not be very unhappy either." He was not ignorant of the obstacles which had just been raised to their union, at the Palace of Fontainebleau; but he flattered himself that once in the possession of Parma, the Empress and her son would be allowed to take up their residence with him at the island of Elba. He indeed flattered himself! He was never again to see these objects of his tenderest affection. I retired, when the Prince of Neufchâtel entered the Emperor's cabinet.

About two o'clock in the afternoon the Emperor walked by himself on the terrace behind

the gallery of Francis the First. He sent for me, and again interrogated me concerning the events which I had witnessed. He was far from approving of the removal from Paris. I mentioned the letter which he had written to his brother Joseph. "Circumstances were no longer the same," said he; "it was necessary to decide according to the new state of things. The mere presence of Louisa at Paris would have sufficed to prevent the treason and desertion of some of my troops. I should still be at the head of a formidable army, with which I would have forced the enemy to leave Paris, and to sign an honourable peace." I thought I might remark to him, that his refusal to sign that peace at Chatillon was greatly to be regretted.—"I never placed any confidence in the good faith of the enemy—each day fresh demands, fresh conditions. They did not wish for peace. And then, I had told France that I would never consent to any terms which I thought humiliating, even if the enemy should be on the heights of Montmartre." I took the liberty of remarking, that France, although greatly limited, would still have been one of the finest kingdoms in the world.—"I abdicate, and I yield nothing." This was the answer he made, with remarkable serenity.

During this audience, which lasted more than two hours, he gave me his opinion of several of his lieutenants: he expressed himself with great energy concerning one of them; but when he spoke of the Duke of Tarento, he added these words to a just eulogium on his character: "Macdonald is a brave and honourable soldier. It was not till these late occurrences that I could appreciate all the nobleness of his character: his connexion with Moreau had prejudiced me against him; but I did him wrong, and I now regret that I did not know his character better."

Then passing on to other subjects, "You see," said he, "the force of destiny! At the battle of Arcis sur Aube I sought a glorious death, disputing foot by foot the soil of the country. I purposely exposed myself; the balls flew around me, my clothes were pierced, but none," said he, sighing, "reached me. To owe my death to an act of despair would be base and cowardly. Suicide is inconsistent with my principles and the rank I have filled in the world. I am a man condemned to live!" said he, sighing again. We walked up and down the terrace several times in silence. "Between you and me," said the Emperor, with a bitter smile, "they say that a living scoundrel is better

than a dead Emperor." The peculiar manner in which he pronounced these words, made me think that the equivalent to this adage might well be this—"The dead alone never return."

Finally, I discoursed with him concerning the different persons I met on the road in coming from Paris. The last person I named was General Hullin. "Oh! as to him, he will arrive too late to make his peace with the Bourbons." As he spoke these words, which I relate faithfully and without comment, he entered his apartment. I never saw him again!

CHAPTER XXIX.

On Napoleon—His Private Habits—His Personal Dignity—Observations of Napoleon—Maria Louisa at Orleans—Return of the Crown diamonds—Prince Paul of Esterhazy at Orleans—Departure for Rambouillet—Visit of the Emperor of Austria—Visit of the Emperor Alexander—Visit of the King of Prussia—Departure from Rambouillet for Gros-Bois; residence there—Visit of the Emperor of Austria; departure for Germany—The Empress Maria Louisa leaves France on the 2d of May.

AT this period of his life, Napoleon was forty-six years old. He was about five feet five inches in height; his head was large, his eyes of a clear blue; his hair dark chesnut; his eyelashes were lighter than his eyebrows, which were, like his hair, of a deep chesnut; his nose was well shaped, and the form of his mouth pleasing and extremely expressive; his hands were remarkably white and beautiful; his feet were

small, but his shoes were not calculated to show them off to advantage, because he would not endure the smallest restraint. On the whole, he was well made and well proportioned. I have particularly remarked a habit which he had of inclining, by a sudden movement, his head and the upper part of his body to the right, and of applying his arm and elbow to his side, as if he wished to make himself taller. This mechanical movement was very slight, and only remarkable when he was conversing as he walked. It did not in the least detract from the imposing *ensemble* of his appearance.

Genius and power were expressed on his large high forehead. His forehead alone was sufficient to form a physiognomy. The fire which flashed from his eyes expressed all his thoughts and feelings. But when the serenity of his temper was not disturbed, the most pleasing smile lighted up his noble countenance, and gave to it an undefinable charm, which I never beheld in any other person! At these times it was impossible to see him without loving him.

I have already said, in speaking of his tastes, that his only nicety consisted in extreme cleanliness, and that his dress was not at all remarkable. One day, wishing to set the example of a useful encouragement to the manufacturers

of Lyons, he appeared at one of Maria Louisa's parties in a dark-coloured velvet coat, with diamond buttons. He was not at all himself, and seemed quite uncomfortable in his new dress.

One day, during the Spanish campaign at Aranda, he sent for me at seven in the morning, to give me some Spanish papers which he was in a hurry to have translated. He was standing shaving himself near a window; Roustan held a large glass; when he had shaved one side of his face, he changed sides, and Roustan replaced himself in such a manner, that the side not shaved was towards the light. Napoleon used only one hand in this operation.

Another time at Schœnbrunn, during the armistice which followed the battle of Wagram, 1809, I assisted him in putting on a grey frock coat, which one of his valets de chambre brought him, and which he desired him to place on a chair, wishing to finish a game of chess which he did me the honour to play with me: He was going incognito with the Duke of Frioul (Duroc) in a private carriage, to see some magnificent fireworks which had been prepared on the Prater, on the signature of the preliminaries of the peace. A box had been taken un-

der a feigned name. Except on these three occasions I never saw Napoleon in any other dress than that of Colonel of *chasseurs*, or grenadier of his guards, or in his own costume of Emperor.

Much has been said of Napoleon's passionate taste for women. Appreciating as he did their merit and beauty, it is not to be supposed that he was free from those amiable weaknesses which constitute the charms of life, and to which all men pay the same homage. It is certain, that the young man who is just entering on life, and who trembles at each moment lest his secret should be betrayed, is less reserved on this point than Napoleon was. It was never he, but the women themselves, that made these transitory inclinations public; and I think their number has been singularly exaggerated.

His taste for snuff has been equally talked of. I can assert with truth, that he lost more than he took. It was rather a fancy, a kind of amusement, than a real want. His snuff-boxes were very plain, of an oval shape, made of black shell, lined with gold. all exactly alike, and differing only in the beautiful antique silver medals, which were set in the lid.

Nature had established a perfect harmony between his power and his habits, between his public and his private life. His deportment and manners were always the same; they were inherent and unstudied. He was the only man in the world of whom it may be said without adulation, that the nearer you viewed him the greater he appeared.

There is one observation, which will certainly not be forgotten by the historian, to whose lot it may fall to delineate the character of this eminently celebrated man. He knew how to preserve his personal dignity unimpaired at all times and in all circumstances, whether when surrounded by the bayonets of Europe, or when delivered, disarmed, to the insults of the gaolers of St. Helena.

I have often heard the Emperor say, that the incurable folly of Frenchmen was carrying their sentiments to an extreme, and pretending to be much more inconstant in their tastes than they really were.

He was well aware, that previous to the Revolution there existed no true national spirit in France, because until then the French nation was governed by manners and customs rather

than by fixed and constitutional laws, and that it was simply the dominion of strength over weakness.

He said that Frenchmen, naturally chivalrous and warlike, were always led away, and even overcome by the splendour of glory; that they forgave every thing when followed by success and victory; but that it was necessary to restrain them by the unity and dignity of the administration, and by fixed laws.

He said sometimes that the enthusiasm of others abated his.

Men, in his opinion, were so many cyphers which acquired value from their situation alone.

"Men," he said, "as well as pictures, required to be placed in a favourable light."

"In general," he added, "the fortune of men depends on circumstances."

These last reflections have always appeared to me extremely discouraging to merit and self-love.

The Emperor of Austria, during our stay at Dresden in 1814, said to Napoleon that he had learnt from strict searches among his archives, that the family of Bonaparte had very anciently been sovereigns (of some little principal-

ity in Italy, the name of which I forget,) and that nothing would be more easy than to prove it legally. Napoleon thanked him, and replied that he had *no need of ancestors.*

Chance threw in my way the funeral-extract of his father, who died at Montpellier.

"In the year 1783, on the 24th of February, died Messire Charles Bonaparte, husband of the lady Lætitia de Ramolini, formerly Deputy of the Nobility of the States of Corsica at the Court, aged about thirty-nine years. Register of the parish of St. Denis de Montpellier.

(Signed) CORTANT, } Vicars.
MEJEAN, }
MARIN, Curate."

He was interred in the Church of the Cordeliers, and disinterred in 1805, to be conveyed to the Castle of Saint-Leu, by the order of Prince Louis, one of his sons.

This same day, the 11th of April, I set out from Fontainebleau at ten in the evening, after receiving my despatches in the Emperor's cabinet from Baron Fain, his head secretary.

April 12.

I arrived at Orleans at eight o'clock, I satisfied the Empress respecting the orders which

she had given me, and delivered to her Napoleon's answer.

She approved of my giving her letter to Prince Metternich. I thought I should have been the first to inform her that the Duchies of Parma and Placentia were ensured to her; but General Fouler had arrived the evening before, from the Duke of Vicenza, to communicate this intelligence to her Majesty.

M. Dudon, master of requests, appointed commissioner by the provisional government, appeared to prove the return of the diamonds, the plate, and the property of the Crown. The inventory was made according to the decrees of the senate, which determined its value and quality. This restoration was performed with the greatest integrity.

The crowd which accompanied the Empress on her departure from Paris was singularly diminished. What I shall term the first emigration may be dated from Blois, on the arrival of Count Schouwaloff; but there still remained around the Empress almost all the persons who composed her honorary suite. The second emigration, which took place at Orleans, reduced to a small number the persons who considered

it their duty to remain with the Empress and her son.

Prince Paul of Esterhazy and Prince Venceslas Lichtenstein arrived some hours after me, and officially confirmed the assurances which M. de Metternich had charged me to give the Empress. When the audience granted them was over, orders were given to prepare for the departure to Rambouillet

We left Orleans at seven in the evening, under the protection of Count Schouwaloff. The Imperial Guard in mournful silence, escorted her Majesty's carriages, and still hoped to be engaged in her service at Rambouillet; but on our stopping to change horses at Angerville, this chosen body were dismissed, and replaced by Cossacks, who brandished their long pikes around us as if we had been a convoy of prisoners. The Imperial Guard repaired to Fontainebleau.

We found the palace of Rambouillet guarded by a regular regiment of Cossacks, who, more civilized than those who had escorted us, performed their service with as much exactness as discretion.

By degrees communication with the capital became more easy, and the nature of the events

which passed there was better understood and appreciated.

The Emperor of Austria wrote word to the Empress that he would come and breakfast with her. He arrived in a plain open carriage with his minister, Prince Metternich. Being apprized of his approach, the Empress, followed by her son, her ladies who had not left her, and the other officers of her household, went to the very bottom of the steps leading to the palace-gate. The Emperor's calash stopped; he instantly alighted, and when he came to the Empress, that Princess took her son from the hands of Madame de Montesquiou, and quickly placed him in his grandfather's arms before she herself received his first embraces. This action, so natural to the feelings of a mother, produced an emotion visible on the features of the Emperor Francis. Perhaps at that moment he repented having listened to old resentments, and was sorry that he had seconded the hatred of England.

April 16.

This day fixed the destiny of the Empress and her son. It was decided that she should

visit Austria before she went into Italy to take possession of her duchies.

Before leaving her, the Emperor, her father, informed her of the Emperor Alexander's intended visit.

On the appointed day (the 18th of April) the Emperor Alexander came to breakfast with the Empress. He was so agreeable, and so much at his ease, that we were almost tempted to believe that no serious event had happened at Paris. After breakfast, the Czar asked the Empress's permission to go and see her son. And turning towards me, who had the honour to be known to him since the interview at Erfurt, he said:—"M. de Bausset, will you have the goodness to conduct me to the apartments of the little king." These were his own words. I led the way, after having informed Madame de Montesquiou. When the Emperor Alexander saw the noble child, he kissed him, examined him attentively, and loaded him with caresses. He said many flattering things to Madame de Montesquiou; and before going away, again kissed "the little king," whose father he had just dethroned.

Two days after this, I received the following letter:—

"General Scholler has the honour to inform the Count de Bausset, that his Majesty the King of Prussia, not wishing to change the usual dinner-hour of her Majesty the Empress, intends visiting Rambouillet to-morrow about noon, and returning to dinner at Paris.

"It is most likely that no one will accompany his Majesty but an aide-de-camp," &c. &c.

I gave this letter to the Empress, who ordered me to answer General Scholler, that she should receive with pleasure the visit of his Majesty the King of Prussia; who arrived exactly at the time mentioned. His visit lasted an hour. On leaving the Empress, the King of Prussia asked me, as the Emperor Alexander had done, to conduct him to the *little king*. I instantly obeyed him: he was less affectionate, less prodigal of his caresses, than the Emperor Alexander; but, like him, he kissed the *little king*.

April 23.

The Empress quitted Rambouillet on the 23rd of April for Gros-bois, where she inhabited the house of the Princess of Neufchâtel.

The Emperor of Austria remained there the whole of the 24th.

All being arranged and settled for the departure, her Majesty left Gros-bois on the 25th of April, and slept the same night at Provins, the 26th at Troyes, the 27th at Châtillon, the 28th at Dijon, the 29th at Grai, the 30th at Vesoul, the 1st of May at Béfort, and on Monday the 2nd of May she left France and passed the Rhine between Huningen and Basle.

In looking back upon the memorable period, of which I have given so faint a sketch, I have sometimes almost thought that I had been a witness of the wonders of the Arabian Tales. The magic picture of so much splendour and glory has disappeared, and the achievements of power and ambition are remembered only as a dream!

THE END.

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